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CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

FRONT PAGE

INTER-EUROPEAN AFFAIRS

Lisbon Conference on Bosnia Hecegovina Resumes 2
Russia's Kozyrev Comments *[TANJUG]* 2
Karadzic Urges Confederal Accord *[TANJUG]* 2
Talks Resume *[TANJUG]* 2
Talks Continue 23 May *[TANJUG]* 3
Serb Artillery Withdrawal Offered *[TANJUG]* 3

ALBANIA

Officials React to 24 May Elections in Kosovo 4
Berisha, Officials Issue Statement *[Tirana Radio]* 4
People's Assembly Issues Statement *[Tirana Radio]* 4
Arbnori Warns Parliament of Violence *[ATA]* 5
Foreign Minister Sarreqi Comments *[Tirana Radio]* 5
Berisha on 'Serbo-Communist Occupation' *[Tirana Radio]* 6
Berisha Greets President Rugova *[ATA]* 6

BULGARIA

Ludzhev: Dimitrov Knew About Deals With Libya *[PODKREPA 12 May]* 7
Ministry Proposes UN, EC Observers on Border *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Dimitrov Assesses Results of Athens Visit *[Sofia Radio]* 7
Dimitrov Comments on DPS Position on New Cabinet *[BTA]* 8
DPS Leader Dogan Criticizes New Cabinet *[BTA]* 8
Commentary on 'Consequences' of Dimitrov Statement *[DUMA 16 May]* 8
Privatization Programs Approved in Principle *[BTA]* 9
Opposition Claims Judicial System Being Destroyed *[DUMA 22 May]* 9
'Political Games' Pose Threat to Defense Deals *[TRUD 18 May]* 10

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Havel Discusses Dam, Screenings, German Treaty *[Prague Radio]* 11
Calfa Interviewed on Government Peformance *[Prague Radio]* 13
Carnogursky Urges Continuation of Common State *[SLOVENSKY DENNIK 18 May]* 14
Cabinet Reviews Dam, Communist Party Assets *[CSTK]* 14
Dienstbier Meets Kozyrev for Talks at Airport *[Prague TV]* 15
CSTK Reporter Assaulted by Local in Havana *[MLADA FRONTA DNES 20 May]* 15

HUNGARY

Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin Arrives in Budapest 17
Holds Talks With Antall, Goncz *[Budapest Radio]* 17
Bilateral Agreements Signed *[MTI]* 17
Antall, Fokin Issue Communique *[MTI]* 18
Socialist Party Congress Presents Policy Plan *[MAGYAR HIRLAP 18 May]* 18

POLAND

Walesa Calls For Improved Ties With Russia *[PAP]* 19
Walesa, Yeltsin Statement Condemns Stalinism *[PAP]* 20
Walesa Claims Visit to Russia Successful *[PAP]* 20
Skubiszewski Summarizes Troop Talks With Russia *[PAP]* 20
Democratic Union Calls For Government's Recall *[Warsaw Radio]* 21
Olszewski Claims Economy Showing Improvement *[Warsaw Radio]* 21
Walesa Said To Favor Skubiszewski as Premier *[NOWA EUROPA 13 May]* 21
Skubiszewski Presents Draft EC Association Law *[PAP]* 21
Lack of Quorum Prevents Vote *[Warsaw Radio]* 22
Sejm Committee's Report on Parys Controversy *[PAP]* 22
Sejm Recalls Parys *[PAP]* 22
Faction Leader Criticizes Center Accord Head *[TRYBUNA 11 May]* 23
Center Accord Faction Holds Talks With Walesa *[NOWY SWIAT 15 May]* 24
Government Discusses Reform of Defense Ministry *[POLSKA ZBROJNA 14 May]* 25
Sejm Media Body Considers TV's Objectivity *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 14 May]* 25
Interior Ministry Ready To Screen Officials *[Warsaw Radio]* 26
Unemployment Increases Slightly in April *[PAP]* 26

ROMANIA

Nastase Favors 'Peaceful' Approach to Moldova *[Bucharest Radio]* 27
Rally Protests 14th Army Role in Moldova *[ROMPRESS]* 27
Stolojan Opposes Postponement of Elections *[ROMPRES]* 27
UDMR Satisfied With Tirgu Mures Elections *[ROMPRES]* 28
Government Spokesman Holds Weekly News Conference *[ROMPRES]* 28
Iliescu's Actions in Past Two Years Criticized 28
Part One *[ROMANIA LIBERA 19 May]* 28
Part Two *[ROMANIA LIBERA 20 May]* 29

BOSNIA-HERCEGOVINA

Foreign Minister Silajdzic Addresses UN Assembly *[Zagreb Radio]* 31
Izetbegovic Issues Statement on UN Admission *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Koljevic Assesses CSCE Discussion, Accusations *[Belgrade TV]* 31
Serbian Delegation Outlines Lisbon Expectations *[Belgrade TV]* 32
Djeric on 'Drawing Lines' Between Communities *[TANJUG]* 32
New Leaders Named for Croatian Organizations *[TANJUG]* 33
Territorial Defense Commander Replaced *[Belgrade Radio]* 33
Sarajevo Barracks Evacuation Begins *[Sarajevo Radio]* 33
Mate Boban on Talks With Karadzic in Graz *[VECERNJI LIST 10 May]* 34
Disagreements on Status of Troops, Installations *[BORBA 11 May]* 35

CROATIA

Tudjman Meets UNSC Chairman; Makes Statement *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Tudjman Speaks on UN Membership, Situation *[Zagreb TV]* 36
Serb Krajina Leader Calls for Defense of Borders *[TANJUG]* 39
Zagreb Explosion Seen as Warning of Terrorism *[VECERNJI LIST 10 May]* 39

SLOVENIA

Rupel, Russia's Kozyrev Sign Protocol on Ties *[TANJUG]* 41
Rupel Comments on Relations *[Ljubljana Radio]* 41
Kucan on Slovene-Croatian Relations *[MLADINA 5 May]* 41
Assets, Liabilities of Former SFRY Surveyed *[DNEVNIK 30 Apr]* 43
Proposed Drnovsek Cabinet Criticized *[DELO 4 May]* 43
Diplomatic, Economic Ties Planned With RSA *[DELO 7 May]* 45

YUGOSLAVIA

International

Government Issues Statement on UN Membership *[TANJUG]* 46

Federal

No More Sessions of 'Former Yugoslavia' Assembly *[TANJUG]* 46
Obradovic Requested To Explain Army Changes *[POLITIKA 11 May]* 46
'Drama' of Shake-Up of Army Leadership *[POLITIKA 10 May]* 47
Nis Parachute Unit Seen as Future Army Model *[POLITIKA 11 May]* 48
Difficult Position of JNA in Bosnia Discussed *[NIN 1 May]* 49

Serbia

Draskovic, Cavoski on Upcoming Serbian Elections *[POLITIKA 12 May]* 50
Radical Party Leader Condemns Election Boycott *[POLITIKA 19 May]* 51
Milosevic's Spouse on Future Ties of Republics *[NIN 1 May]* 52

Kosovo

Elections for Parliament, President Held 24 May 58
Serbian Police Intervention Reported *[Tirana Radio]* 58
Vote Total at 900,000 *[Tirana ATA]* 58
Election Considered Successful *[Zagreb Radio]* 58
Rugova Elected President *[Zagreb Radio]* 59
Rugova: 'Independent, Neutral State' *[TANJUG]* 59
Observers Say Elections Fair *[Tirana ATA]* 59
'Large-Scale' Settlement of Serbs Planned *[TANJUG]* 59

Montenegro

Serb Radical Leader Unhurt in Bomb Attack *[TANJUG]* 60
Bulatovic Comments on Attack *[TANJUG]* 60

Yugoslavia

Kosovo—In a statement broadcast by Zagreb radio, the secretary of the Kosovo Republican Electoral Commission announced that Dr. Ibrahim Rugova was elected "president of the Republic of Kosovo" with "about 99 percent" of the vote. The turnout for the election for president and parliament was reported to "average... more than 85 percent of voters registered." According to TANJUG, Rugova told an Albanian-language newspaper that Kosovo "will become an independent and neutral state of free and equal nations and citizens." TANJUG notes that Rugova ran unopposed.

Drago Icic, the "chairman of a resettlement association set up recently," told a press conference in Pristina that a "large-scale action to settle Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija will begin on 5 June," according to TANJUG. In the "first stage between 3,000 and 7,000" Serbs and Montenegrins "mostly from Leskovac, Nis, and Lebane are expected to move to Kosovo" where "jobs and temporary accomodation have been secured for all."

Albania

President Sali Berisha sent congratulatory greetings and "cordial wishes" to Ibrahim Rugova, the newly elected president of the Republic of Kosovo, ATA reports. He praised the free and democratic elections, stating that the "territories in Kosovo knew how to manifest political maturity and civil courage to march towards democracy and exertion of human rights." Berisha, along with the Albanian state, assured the new president of his support.

Croatia

In a speech, broadcast live on Zagreb tv, at a rally in Zagreb upon his return from a trip to UN headquarters, President Franjo Tudjman said "soon after the departure of the last soldier from the last inch of Croatian territory, we will call elections" for a "more capable government." Tudjman also told the crowd that having entered the United Nations and European organizations "we assumed obligations and we will abide by them," but he issued a "warning and a call to the Serbian population...to stop their armed fighting against sovereign Croatia." Concerning "those who bloodied their hands by killing innocent" Croatians, Tudjman said "there is no statute of limitations on war crimes."

Inter-European Affairs

According to TANJUG, Radovan Karadzic, the head of the Serbian delegation at the Lisbon talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, said that "the Serb side is prepared to withdraw its artillery surrounding Sarajevo" if "free passage is guaranteed" to soldiers quartered in Sarajevo and "international monitors guarantee the security of the Serbs in that city." Karadzic added that "the West should understand" that "Serbia is not involved in what is happening today in Bosnia." Serbs there are "fighting on their own" for their "rights and for their survival."

Lisbon Conference on Bosnia Hecegovina Resumes

Russia's Kozyrev Comments

LD2305012292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2334 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Lisbon, May 22 (TANJUG)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said on Friday he had received assurances from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that it "neither wants to dominate over former Yugoslavia nor has any expansionistic intentions towards other republics." Yugoslavia confirmed these assurances by accepting international observers at its borders, Kozyrev told a news conference in Lisbon.

Kozyrev said he would try to meet with representatives of the three national communities in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina in Lisbon over the weekend. Negotiations on the future of Bosnia-Hercegovina began in Lisbon on Wednesday.

Kozyrev said he would go back to Yugoslavia and visit Sarajevo and mediate in preventing further clashes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. I will try to mediate so that the capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Sarajevo, becomes open for traffic and the delivery of humanitarian aid as soon as possible, Kozyrev said.

Kozyrev interrupted his visit to Yugoslavia on Wednesday because he had to attend a session of the Russian parliament devoted to the Crimean issue. He arrived in Lisbon on Friday for a conference on international aid to the republics of the former Soviet Union which now make up the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Kozyrev discussed the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina with Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro in Lisbon on Friday.

Karadzic Urges Confederal Accord

LD2205154992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1454 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Lisbon, May 22 (TANJUG)—The three constitutive peoples in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina should reach as early as possible an agreement on a confederal system in Bosnia at the Lisbon Conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic said here on Friday.

Karadzic is participating in a new round of talks on a future constitutional system in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The E.C.-brokered conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina—held in Lisbon and chaired by Portuguese diplomat Jose Cutilheiro—should direct efforts on the project of confederal division presented earlier, said Karadzic.

An agreement to that effect, proposed by the E.C. and accepted by the leaders of the Muslim, Serb and Croat communities, provides for Bosnia-Hercegovina's becoming a state with three constituent units formed on an ethnic principle.

In Karadzic's view, leader of the Muslim community in Bosnia Alija Izetbegovic does not really accept the project and that is the reason for his avoiding to participate in the Lisbon talks.

"Izetbegovic has accepted the project only for tactical reasons, to gain time," said Karadzic.

Only representatives of the Serb and Croat ethnic communities in Bosnia arrived in Lisbon by Friday afternoon.

Izetbegovic said he "cannot leave the country for technical reasons." The Muslim leader was also late several days for the previous round of talks last April.

Karadzic said that the new round of talks focused on ethnic maps.

"The sooner we work out the maps, i.e. reach agreement on a division, the sooner the war will stop," he said.

Karadzic said that the maps were important because the current war is being waged in areas between different ethnic communities, i.e. on the lines which are to become the borders among the ethnic communities.

Talks Resume

LD2205125392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1106 GMT 22 May 92

[Excerpts] Lisbon, 22 May (TANJUG)—Talks about the constitutional order in Bosnia-Hercegovina have resumed in Lisbon this morning, although representatives of the Muslim community in that former Yugoslav republic have not yet taken part.

Portugese Ambassador Jose Cutilheiro, who is chairing the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina on behalf of the European Community, met separately today with Serbian delegation members Radovan Karadzic and Nikola Koljevic, who arrived in Lisbon last night.

Cutilheiro had similar talks with the Croatian delegation headed by Mate Boban, a member of the top leadership of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina. [passage omitted]

This round of negotiations is dealing with ethnic maps; that is, the cantonisation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, about which the three national communities agreed upon on 18 May.

"We are in fact continuing talks that we had here a month ago," Radovan Karadzic said. He added that the issue of maps is exceptionally important for the resolution of the Bosnian drama. He supported this with the fact that clashes are being waged in disputed areas, where interethnic borders should be. "The sooner we draw maps—that is, the sooner we agree on delineation—the sooner the war will end."

Karadzic said the Lisbon conference should be directed toward the plan being put forward by Ambassador Cutilheiro and that agreement should be reached as soon

as possible on a confederal model under which the three constituent nations of this former Yugoslav republic would live.

Karadzic felt that Izetbegovic is deliberately not coming to Lisbon. "I believe he does not sincerely accept this plan," Karadzic added. "He accepted it formally for purely tactical reasons, in order to gain time. I am convinced, however, that he is making a mistake and that in the end he will have to come."

When and whether Izetbegovic will come to Lisbon is still not known. Only Ambassador Cutilheiro remains convinced that the Muslims will come.

"I have been given indications," he said last night after three hours of talks with the Croatian delegation, "that the Muslim delegation will come on Saturday morning."

Cutilheiro was unable to say whether the delegation would be led by Alija Izetbegovic. He told journalists, however, that he was in contact with the Muslim leader in Bosnia. [passage omitted]

Talks Continue 23 May

LD2305141892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1323 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Lisbon, May 23 (TANJUG)—Talks on constitutional arrangements in Bosnia-Hercegovina (BIH) resumed on Saturday as Jose Cutilheiro held talks with the Muslim delegation. The delegation of the Party of Democratic Action (SDA) arrived in Lisbon early on Saturday with a four-day delay, but without Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic. It was headed to the E.C.-sponsored talks by Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic. Silajdzic returned from new York After attending the admission of the BIH to the United Nations on Friday night.

President of the Muslim-Croat leadership of the BIH and leader of the SDA Alija Izetbegovic, who last time arrived for talks two days late and only after offering a number of excuses, said this time he was unable to come "for technical reasons."

The talks on territorial demarcation of the three constituent nations should have started last Wednesday, but due to escalation of clashes the Serb and the Croat delegations arrived in Lisbon on Thursday. Ethnic maps were tabled, while the delegations are to submit their remarks and proposals in separate talks. The delegation and Portuguese officials' circles said the offered maps could serve as a basis for accord.

Cutilheiro, who chairs the talks, believes this time the talks should last until definitive accord was reached.

As learned from diplomatic circles, Lord Carrington, who chairs the confeence on Yugoslavia, as well as, the European Community, now insisted that negotiations be conducted without waiting for the agreed on ceasefire to stabilize.

The resumption of the negotiations, adjourned on May 2, has been put off on several occasions due to an escalation of armed clashes. The civil war in the BIH flared up after the U.S. and the E.C., at the request of the Muslim-Croat coalition in the BIH, and despite opposition from the Serbs in the BIH, recognized independence of this republic on April 7.

A meeting this weekend between the representatives of the three nations in the BIH could materialize with the E.C. foreign ministers, who have met in Lisbon to examine the issue of international aid to the former Soviet republics.

Serb Artillery Withdrawal Offered

LD2505214192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2036 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] Lisbon, 25 May (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, head of the Serb delegation at the negotiations on the future constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, stated tonight that the Serb side is prepared to withdraw its artillery surrounding Sarajevo on condition that free passage is guaranteed to soldiers from Sarajevo barracks and that the international monitors guarantee the security of the Serbs in that city.

Karadzic also said that the Serb side is prepared to undertake steps to open Sarajevo airport for civilian and humanitarian flights. In this case the airport would function under a special regime and under the control of local Serb police and international monitors.

The head of the Serb delegation at the Lisbon negotiations is of the opinion that everything can be realized relatively quickly; however, in order for all of this to take place, it is most important to deblock the soldiers in Sarajevo barracks. [passage omitted]

"The West should understand," Karadzic said, "that there are Serbs from Serbia and that there are Serbs from Bosnia. Serbia is not involved in what is happening today in Bosnia. Serbs from Bosnia-Hercegovina are fighting on their own in this former Yugoslav republic for their rights and for their survival."

Officials React to 24 May Elections in Kosovo

Berisha, Officials Issue Statement

AU2305134492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] President Sali Berisha held a meeting this afternoon with Pjeter Arbnori, chairman of the People's Assembly Presidency; Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi; Defense Minister Safet Xhulali; Bashkim Kopliku, minister of public order; representatives of the parliamentarian parties, Mr. Eduard Selami, Servet Pellumbi, Skender Gjinushi, and Sabri Godo; Valer Xheka, chairman of the Albanian Independent Trade Unions; Trade Union Confederation Chairman Muca; and Chairman of the Political Prisoners' Association Kazazi. At the meeting they discussed the situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia, the free elections that will be held in Kosovo on 24 May, and the relevant measures that will be taken in Albania. The meeting issued this statement:

The first free and democratic elections will be held in Kosovo on 24 May, and they will decide on the future parliament and president of Kosovo. The Kosovo Albanians have so far resisted the Serbian oppression and systematic violation of their national and civil rights with dignity and through social protest. Their attitude and activity have never been destabilizing factors in the region. Considering that Kosovo was a constituent part of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia according to the Yugoslav Constitution of 1974, which Serbia violently invalidated in 1989 and that the Kosovo Albanians number about 2 million and constitute more than 90 percent of the population of Kosovo, one cannot deny Albanians the right to self-determination that the international community has acknowledged for the nations of former Yugoslavia. The representatives of Kosovo deserve to participate as equals in all the talks held on peace and future of the regions of former Yugoslavia. The 24 May elections express the civil right of the entire population of Kosovo to elect their representatives and government officials in a democratic and free way as all over Eastern Europe.

The communist-nationalist regime of Milosevic seemingly wants to apply here the scenarios that he applied in Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina. The numerous troops and the tank units of the Serbian Army are concentrated in a demonstrative way in many places in Kosovo. They may resort to violence to obstruct the free elections. Escalations that may result from such an intervention are unforeseen and jeopardize the stability in the entire Balkan region. We are convinced that all the Albanians, Serbs, Turks, Montenegrins, Muslims, Croats, and Romanians, all the inhabitants of Kosovo who will take part in the elections, should avoid every provocation that may be a cause of conflict. The citizens of Kosovo should in no way fall prey to the acts aimed at spreading the violence. The political maturity, reason, and cool-headedness of everyone is a condition to normally conduct elections and avoid violence and conflict.

The Republic of Albania will apply all the international obligations. The Republic of Albania is prepared to secure the integrity of its territory from every provocation and possible use of force. In conformity with all international obligations, Albania will give its support to recognize the human and national rights of the Albanians in the Republic of Kosovo.

Albania calls on the international public and international institutions such as UN, EC, and CSCE to recognize the human and national rights of Albanians in the Republic of Kosovo. These institutions should do everything in their power to avoid the use of violence in Kosovo, which presents a danger for the fragile equilibrium in the Balkans. We consider that serious warnings, strict sanctions, and a possible clear explanation to the aggressor that violence will not be tolerated are the best way to preserve peace in the region.

People's Assembly Issues Statement

AU2305170092 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1330 GMT 23 May 92

[Statement issued by the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] The People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania received the news of the free multiparty elections in the Republic of Kosovo with special pleasure and feels the duty to warmly welcome their holding on 24 May 1992. They will elect Kosovo's president and its first multiparty parliament. These elections are an event of special historic importance for the Albanian people who live in their own territories in the former Yugoslavia. They mark a further and certain step toward creating permanent democratic institutions in Kosovo.

Conducting the free and democratic elections in conformity with international documents is a legitimate right of the Albanian population. No one has the right to prevent Albanians from expressing their free will and deciding on their future. As they have done so far, they will make every effort to avoid provocations that aim to cause war and bloodshed in this region. This is the last chance for the Belgrade authorities to understand that they cannot suppress the will of a people through violence and use of military force.

Expressing the desire of the entire Albanian people, the Assembly of the Republic of Albania invites the international public and the CSCE and EC member countries to support and defend the free elections in Kosovo. The crisis in Kosovo can be completely resolved by respecting the will of the Albanian people, thus avoiding bloodshed and a complete destabilization of the Balkans.

Arbnori Warns Parliament of Violence

AU2405142892 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 24 May 92

[Letter from People's Assembly Chairman Pjeter Arbnori to European Parliament Chairman Egon Klepsch; place and date not given]

[Text] Tirana, May 24 (ATA)—Esteemed Mr. Klepsch,

As you know, fair multiparty elections are going to be held in the Republic of Kosovo on May 24, 1992 to elect the president and the first pluralistic parliament of this republic.

The Assembly of the Republic of Albania, which supports the right of the Albanian population in Kosovo to elect their legitimate representatives, hails fair elections in the Republic of Kosovo and considers them as an important contribution to restore peace and tranquillity in this republic and in the Balkans.

But we worry over the concentration of Serb military forces in Kosovo on the part of the Republic of Serbia and the statements of its leaders to resort to strength in order to avert fair elections in Kosovo, giving a free hand to the use of strength which would turn into an open slaughter against the Albanian population living in their own territories.

The Assembly of the Republic of Albania deems it its duty to ask the European Parliament and you personally to totally engage so as to enable the conduct of fair elections in the Republic of Kosovo, making use of your special authority in order to avert bloodshed and possible slaughter of Serbia against the unarmed Albanian people of Kosovo.

The parliament of the Republic of Albania sincerely believes that the European Parliament will send its observers and will seriously engage itself for the normal conduct of elections in Kosovo, helping the Albanians and other inhabitants to freely express their free will.

Foreign Minister Sarreqi Comments

LD2405163692 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 2200 GMT 23 May 92

[Announcer-read interview with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Sarreqi by Lirim Ibrahimi on 23 May; place not given—recorded, in Albanian with superimposed translation into English]

[Text] [Announcer] On 24 May decisive elections to the parliament and elections for the president of the Republic of Kosovo are due to be held, which will mark a culminating point in the history of the peace-loving and freedom-loving people of Kosovo, who are a suppressed and occupied people seeking to live free in their [word indistinct] territory. One day prior to these elections our correspondent Lirim Ibrahimi interviewed the Albanian foreign minister, Mr. Alfred Sarreqi. Here is the interview.

[Ibrahimi] Mr. Minister, how do you regard the situation in Kosovo on the eve of the elections?

[Sarreqi] May 24, which is election day in Kosovo, will be decisive for the political future and the future of Kosovo in general, which is being faced with the danger of the Serbian chauvinist forces who seek to realize what they have prepared for years on end now—the suppression of this people with violence and blood. I think that not only the political opinion in Albania but the whole world public opinion have become aware of the situation in Kosovo. It has also been said that it is a disaster not only to the Albanians in Kosovo and in the Balkans but to the whole of Europe, too, which has in its body an apartheid regime, the last communist force in Europe, the most vicious sort of chauvinism exercised over a people living in their own territories.

[Ibrahimi] What political activity has the Albanian diplomacy carried out and continues to carry out in support of the just cause of the Albanian people and of the Republic of Kosovo in particular in the last days?

[Sarreqi] The policy of democratic Albania has a new vision based on two principal columns [as heard]: On the (?column) which has to do with the consolidation of democracy in Albania and the eradication of communism and on the (?column) which has to do with the correct settlement of the all-national issue and particularly of the Kosovo issue. Every activity of our policy which could fail to equally respect these two (?columns) could not be regarded as a legal political activity. Therefore successful efforts and concrete moves are being made in this direction so that (?its citizens) cooperation and coordination with all the political forces with the government of Kosovo be realized. The Foreign Ministry of Albania has intensified contacts with all chancelleries of the world, creating a clear vision to them about the legal and historical aspects, the demographic reality and the current situation. The people are already becoming conscious that the Albanians in former Yugoslavia do not constitute a minority, something which is of great importance, since it will positively influence [as heard] on the international relations, too.

[Ibrahimi] Mr. Minister, many facts are evidence of the growing Serbian chauvinist military presence in Kosovo, which constitutes a real and immediate threat to the future of the Albanian people in Kosovo, fraught with great danger to the peace in the Balkans and further afield. Do you think that there will be an armed conflict in Kosovo? What will be the reactions of the democratic opinion and of the international forums regarding this very delicate situation with grave consequences to peace in our region, the Balkans, and Europe as well?

[Sarreqi] The truth is that the military presence in the territory of Kosovo is growing each passing day. Here we

have not had to do only with the presence of the Federal Army in former Yugoslavia, but also with the Serbian paramilitary troops that are being armed each passing day, too. So facts go to show that the Serb chauvinists are preparing for military violence to the detriment of the defendless [as heard] Albanian population, which has chosen the road of democracy itself. The Albanian people of Kosovo, with their culture and courage, will not give any chance to the Serbian chauvinist forces to undertake any vicious massacre. The democratic world, the international forums, all those which have supported the Kosovo issue so far will do what they can in order to avert any possible conflict and war in Kosovo. I think that the growing of the [word indistinct] political, diplomatic and economic pressure towards Serbia, which in reality is experiencing a deep economic crisis because of the alternative of the war chosen by Milosevic and his clique, that is certainly an alternative which leads to the destruction of Serbia itself, an alternative which cannot lead to a correct solution of problems, will reach to avoid a war. If the conflict in Kosovo will not be averted then the whole world diplomacy must feel itself in real crisis and discuss about its total failure.

[Ibrahimi] Mr. Minister, what will be realized with the elections of 24 March [as heard] in Kosovo?

[Sarreqi] The new elections will lead Kosovo toward a rightful self-determination in its own territories and the world towards the recognition of the Republic of Kosovo.

Berisha on 'Serbo-Communist Occupation'

AU2405203292 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 2000 GMT 24 May 92

[Interview with President Sali Berisha by an unidentified correspondent in Tirana on 24 May—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Today is 24 May, a special day for the Albanian people. [Words indistinct].

[Berisha] Today's elections in Kosovo are being conducted in total accordance with people's human right to elect their representatives and governors by a free and secret ballot. The elections in Kosovo are being held under the conditions of a double occupation, both Serbian and communist. It must not be forgotten that Kosovo and its people that were the first in East Europe to destroy their Communist Party. With these elections, they aim to liberate themselves from communist or Greater Serbian occupation. [words indistinct] have shown what patience, endurance, and resistance mean. The Albanians of Yugoslavia, of Kosovo, have also shown their determination to solve their problems and to free themselves from Serbo-communist occupation by democratic ways and means.

[Correspondent] [Words indistinct] living on their own territories in Kosovo have shown that they are a people committed to democratic means. What message to you have for the martyred people of Kosovo?

[Berisha] The elections in Kosovo are a clear testimony that the Albanians, fully respecting the principles of the CSCE, are determined to build a democratic state and society [words indistinct] that will be an important factor of stability in the troubled Balkans and in Europe. [Words indistinct] the care shown by the CSCE members for the normal conduct of these elections. We hope that they will welcome the results. My message is only this: We, wherever we are, must hold fast to the principles of democracy, and we Albanians wherever we are will build a democratic society that will be based on the Helsinki principles and the ideals to which we have aspired for so long.

Berisha Greets President Rugova

AU2605093192 Tirana ATA in English 0808 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—The President of the Republic of Albania Sali Berisha has addressed a message of greetings to the newly elected president of the Republic of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, which says:

Dear Ibrahim,

Your election as president of the Republic of Kosovo gives me the opportunity to extend cordial wishes. The part of the Albanian nation in its territories in Kosovo knew to manifest political maturity and civil courage to march towards democracy and exertion of human rights. The inhabitants of Kosovo showed to the entire civilized world that they are for dialogue and democratic forms of existence and that in no way it will not be they who will instigate violence in the relations with the others. The May 24 elections are a major step forward on the road of self-determination of the Albanians in Kosovo. On this occasion I extend my wishes to all the elected deputies in Kosovo's parliament.

Being aware of the great responsibility you are shouldering, I assure you that my support and of the Albanian state will not lack to attain your rights.

Ludzhev: Dimitrov Knew About Deals With Libya

AU1905135992 Sofia PODKREPA in Bulgarian 12 May 92 p 1

[Tsveta Ivanova report: "Prime Minister Dimitrov Knew About Deals With Libya, Minister Ludzhev Claims"]

[Text] The recent attack by certain circles against me crossed the border of the permissible, Mr. Ludzhev said on 11 May at his meeting with journalists at the Council of Ministers' Press Center. A campaign is being conducted against me that reminds me of the struggle against the class enemy or against an opponent from a different party. Everything began with the unfounded demand for my resignation, after which Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov made certain insinuations, while his advisers, Aleks Aleksiev and Konstantin Mishev, began to accuse me of conducting illegal weapons deals with Libya, Iran, and North Korea.

The defense minister complained that even people he fired, such as Mr. Dimitur Ivanov, have been used in the campaign against him. The cooperation of former employees of the Ministry of Defense who were dismissed by him has also been sought.

According to Minister Ludzhev, even [entrepreneur] Bobby Gets, who is awaiting trial, will also be used against him as a supporter of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

The defense minister showed a new compromising document which, according to him, contains forged signatures and which, in a very unprofessional manner, slanders him as a former informer of the secret service. The memorandum in question has been sent by anonymous persons to the TRUD Editorial Board.

Mr. Ludzhev said that the SDS Coordinating Council has become the arena of a solid campaign against him. Certain persons were trying to convince the party leaders of his guilt.

The accused minister said that absolutely all files about deals conducted by his team have been checked by authorized people. The necessary coordination steps have been undertaken with the United States, the United Kingdom, and other countries in an attempt to prevent any violations of COCOM. Mr. Ludzhev said that it is not true that Filip Dimitrov did not know anything about the deal with Libya. A report on relations with Libya had been submitted to him when sanctions against Libya were mentioned for the first time. In addition, the prime minister has personally received a report on the deals conducted by Kinteks.

Dimitur Ludzhev said that in every country where a similar campaign with similar means is conducted against a minister, confidence in the prime minister must immediately be placed under question. "Do we live in Bulgaria before or after 10 November 1992," was Minister Ludzhev's rhetorical question prior to describing the campaign against him as a great blunder. In conclusion he rejected the claims about having special relations with certain trade union chiefs, and said that he has always supported strong trade unions and the existence of the Tripartite Commission.

Ministry Proposes UN, EC Observers on Border

AU2205183892 Sofia Khristo Botev Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] We will advise you of a statement issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

The exacerbation of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the real danger of the appearance of new areas of military conflict in the vicinity of Bulgaria's western border arouses serious concern about stability in the region. These fears are intensified by the increasing ethnic tension in Kosovo caused by the irreconcilable positions of the political forces, the lack of dialogue between them, and the massing of military forces and weapons.

This creeping destabilization also constitutes a potential threat to the security of the Bulgarian border.

Guided by a desire to assist in preventing an escalation of the conflicts in the region, Bulgaria proposes that EC or UN observers be deployed on its territory along the western border to monitor the development of the situation, says the statement.

With this purpose in mind, the Bulgarian side has already taken official steps with the EC Commission. Today this request was conveyed to UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali through Bulgaria's permanent representation at the United Nations.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs hopes that this proposal will be realistic, because it reflects Bulgaria's desire to assist in limiting the existing areas of tension and in preventing further destabilization in the Balkans, the statement concludes.

Dimitrov Assesses Results of Athens Visit

AU2205180492 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 22 May 92

[Statement by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov during his flight from Athens to Sofia on 22 May—recorded]

[Text] I am very satisfied with this visit. First of all, it provided a very strong indication of the climate of Bulgarian-Greek relations. We were received in a very friendly manner and with goodwill, which means that all the stories about a cooling in our relations are not true.

Second, in my view, the visit was useful from a political viewpoint because Mr. Mitsotakis, as prime minister, and all the other people whom I managed to meet, including representatives of the opposition, agreed with us that no problems exist between Bulgaria and Greece.

We agreed that we are pursuing the same aims, namely peace, humanitarianism, and democracy in the Balkans, and that we have common concerns regarding the threats to these values. As for the differences in our approaches toward solving these problems, we show tolerance for their views. Precisely the same tolerance was shown on the Greek side for our position regarding the recognition of the former Yugoslav republics, including Macedonia. We also show tolerance toward the position that they hold, although sharing this view is another matter. As we established, differences of this kind are something that are not unnatural between friends, and we, as modern states, have a right to differing approaches toward problems.

Last but not least, we discussed issues connected with economic, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation between our two countries. I was glad to be able to establish that the Greek side was ready to fully accept what we proposed, namely that the issues that we have to settle between our two countries should be resolved not individually, one by one, but in an integrated manner, as a package. This will be considered by the Bulgarian-Greek Commission on Economic Cooperation and at other meetings between experts, so that in examining these issues we can keep in mind the global positions and general interests of other countries.

Dimitrov Comments on DPS Position on New Cabinet

AU2305123492 Sofia BTA in English 1954 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 22 (BTA)—"The Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) has a place of its own on Bulgaria's political scene," said Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov. On his return from an official visit to Greece this evening he was asked by the press to comment on the position expressed by the DPS in parliament two days ago in connection with the voting of the structural and personnel cabinet changes. The movement, which defends the interests of ethnic Turks in Bulgaria, supported the government but its spokesman set the condition that the parliamentary factions of the DPS and the Union of Democratic Forces start consultations "with a view to renewing the incumbent cabinet and even forming a new government."

"I think we will have a chance to talk a lot on these questions," Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov said this evening, stressing that he is firmly committed to respect for and reckoning with the realities. "The DPS is a very important and, yes, a very fine reality for Bulgaria because it proves that Bulgaria manages to cope successfully with at least one of the mimicries of communism. We all benefit from the fact that the DPS has a place of its own on the country's political scene," he said.

DPS Leader Dogan Criticizes New Cabinet

AU2305171692 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Sofia, May 23 (BTA)—Today's TRUD runs an interview with the leader of the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS), Mr. Ahmed Dogan. He sets forth his views on the Bulgarian Government two days after its structural and personnel changes, proposed by Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and supported by the DPS MP's [members of parliament], were voted by parliament.

In his interview Mr. Dogan expresses dissatisfaction above all with the competence of the ministers who will represent the government of the ruling Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). This government had to be proposed only by the ruling SDS, he believes. According to him, it would not have been felicitous to include deputy ministers of the DPS in this cabinet, despite the fact that "we have numerous intellectuals who are quite competent in their areas," he said.

The leader of the DPS stressed the necessity for every future change of ministers in the government of the SDS to be coordinated in advance.

Mr. Dogan hopes that consultations of new parameters for the formation of a new cabinet will start soon. The leader of the DPS stressed that the movement headed by him will not form a cabinet of its own. According to him, if the DPS agrees to a coalition government with the SDS this will be dictated by the circumstances and not by presumption. But at the same time it would be naive to think that the DPS is not ready for a coalition government, he added.

There should be no elections in the next two years. This is the answer Mr. Dogan gives to the question whether he expects new elections by the end of the year. He is against the formation of a caretaker government. All options should be exercised: by the SDS, by the DPS, by the entire parliament, including by the formerly communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). This is a new aspect in the stand of the DPS, he said, pointing out that in the BSP there are people of radical ideas with whom contacts can be established.

Commentary on 'Consequences' of Dimitrov Statement

AU2305174592 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 16 May 92 p 4

[Konstantin Sagaev commentary: "Prime Minister's Victory Could Be Pyrrhic"]

[Text] It is doubtful whether Filip Dimitrov himself knew the consequences of his otherwise determined but obviously ill-considered and tactically too hasty statement that if Minister Ludzhev did not resign he himself would do so. A wise man has said that history punishes people who use flighty concepts such as "always," "never," and so forth. One way or another, the stone was thrown in the water, and the waves are still splashing.

It appears that being the head of the government does not necessarily mean that one has all the power in his hands. This becomes even more obvious when one creates an historical precedent by publicly demanding a

resignation, and is publicly and demonstratively rebuffed. I do not know whether Bulgarian history has such a case. One could not find anything about a similar case in the newspapers or the radio, let alone the television. The case becomes even more striking against the background of the fact that the minister asked to resign has a certain experience not only in the corridors of the government, but also in the scientific-historical review of our political history. In any event, this was the first lesson the prime minister learned.

The second lesson the prime minister learned was that the executive power chair has four legs and that it could always be shaken if one pulls one of the legs, especially if the particular leg is called Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS]. Naive people thought that the DPS leader could be tempted with a ministerial or an even higher post, instead of preferring to let things depend on him or even to pull the strings. What meaning could a ministerial post have, when with one strike one could topple the entire government?

The third lesson for the prime minister was the president's statement on the "Ludzhev's case." The president stated that he still has friends, which at the present moment has meaning. He stressed that he is not indifferent toward the issue of who rules the country. Most importantly—he clearly said that it is one thing when somebody comes to power through elections, and something completely different to be worthy of holding the power. Both the prime minister and the parliamentary faction of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]-Movement found it difficult to swallow the president's words.

In the final analysis, if we add the deterioration in relations with the Podkrepa Labor Confederation and personally with its leader to those unpleasant lessons, while keeping in mind the contradictions with some deputies of the ruling majority and also the dependence to a certain extent on the deputies of the opposition, the prime minister's victory really could prove Pyrrhic. In addition, the entire affair created certain disappointment among a part of the SDS voters, staged a show for the extraparliamentarian opposition, and produced a new "shadow prime minister."

Privatization Programs Approved in Principle

AU1905112192 Sofia BTA in English 2126 GMT 18 May 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, May 18 (BTA)—At its meeting today, the Council of Ministers adopted a decision approving in principle the programmes for small and large privatization. The programmes include the units of property subject to privatization by the end of the year: a total of nearly 60 enterprises in the food processing, light and heavy industries, and trade. Within two weeks, each ministry should come up with suggestions on the programmes which have been worked out by the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

The Council of Ministers confirmed Bulgaria's stand on the conduct of talks with Turkey on the delimitation of the border along the River Rezovska. [passage omitted]

The Council of Ministers approved the draft of an intergovernmental agreement on trade between Bulgaria and Macedonia and authorized Minister of Trade and Industry Ivan Pushkarov to open negotiations on signing the agreement.

The cabinet approved a draft programme for cooperation in education, science and culture between Bulgaria and Romania and a draft agreement on the start of air services between Bulgaria and Indonesia.

The cabinet will move to parliament to ratify the UN Convention Against Illicit Trafficking of Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

By decision of the cabinet, a Committee for Youth and Sports will be established as of June 1, 1992.

A delegation of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, led by Deputy Foreign Minister Valentin Dobrev, left for Kiev to hold talks with representatives of the Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The sides will discuss key international problems and the promotion of relations between Bulgaria and Ukraine.

Deputy Foreign Minister Dimitur Tsanev had a meeting with the newly appointed ambassadors of South Africa, Costa Rica and Iceland in Sofia. Tomorrow they will present their credentials to President Zhelyu Zhelev.

The National Assembly Committee on Radio and Television decided to extend the deadline for the adoption of the Bulgarian Radio's new statute as a national public cultural and information institute.

The first private radio stations are expected to go on the air as early as this summer, the Provisional Council on Frequency Allocation announced at a press conference today. A total of 110 applications from all over the country have been submitted so far. [passage omitted]

Opposition Claims Judicial System Being Destroyed

AU2605093392 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 22 May 92 p 1

[Lidiya Lecheva article]

[Text] At a news conference on the problems of the judicial system organized by the Press Center of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the Parliamentary Union for Social Democracy [PSSD] in Sofia on 21 May, Ivan Shkolagerski, deputy chairman of the Legislative Commission, said that the staff changes made in the judicial authority were overhasty and politically motivated. According to incomplete data, 82 judges, 70 public prosecutors, and 36 investigators have been dismissed or have resigned "voluntarily." Months before this, some of the best judges transferred to practice as attorneys. A striking example is that of Ruse, where only

two investigators are working and they have 1,500 investigations pending. The state of the judicial system is one of the reasons for the rising crime rate.

There is a danger that additional appointments to the third power will be made on the basis of people's party views. It is terrible when declarations denying party affiliation are made, but bias toward a certain idea is demonstrated, Mr. Shkolagerski emphasized. Ivan Tatarchev and Ivan Grigorov, two impeccable lawyers in his view, left the profession not because something threatened their careers, but for party considerations.

'Political Games' Pose Threat to Defense Deals

AU2305175192 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 May 92 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Deputy Defense Minister Dimitur Tanovski by Aleksandur Angelov; place and date not given: "Political Games Pose Threat to Deals Worth Billions"]

[Excerpt] [Angelov] Mr. Tanovski, you are the second-highest-ranking civilian in the Ministry of Defense. What reasons made it necessary to set up the military-economic sector [blok] that you control?

[Tanovski] The new structure of this sector was drawn up a year ago, and its main purpose is to give priority to developing and segregating economic activities outside the military sphere, in accordance with the requirements of the market economy. In the space of a few months we succeeded in developing a new strategy, and for the first time set timetables for our entire activity, after which we drafted a program of intent. We did all this to be able to see what our potential is and what possibilities we have for providing additional funds for the reform in the Army because the budget allocated to the Ministry of Defense is extremely inadequate. We became convinced that we have about two years in which to utilize the identified internal reserves to speed up the implementation of the reforms.

[Angelov] What specific reserves do you have in mind?

[Tanovski] When we made our calculations, it turned out that the overstocking of some items reached 1,100 percent. Moreover, the reduction and restructuring of the Army are releasing incredibly large quantities of arms that have to be sold.

We expect to obtain receipts of about 3 billion leva from the sale of old hardware alone, while the total economic effect from implementing our program of intent is expected to reach 23 billion leva!

[Angelov] How does this program define the interrelations within the military-industrial complex, most of which lies outside the structure of the Defense Ministry?

[Tanovski] Yes, the so-called military-industrial complex consists of about 80 companies under the control of the Ministry of Industry and Trade and a further 18 plants and factories that come under the Ministry of Defense. However, when we prepared our program we reached the conclusion that it is possible and logical to include the military-industrial complex into the entire system as well, because the reform of the Army is not only a Defense Ministry matter, but concerns the state as a whole. For its own part, the military-industrial complex can neither develop nor exist without the assistance of the Defense Ministry.

[Angelov] Then why are accusations being made that you want to rob the industry of some of its territory?

[Tanovski] The enterprises came to us themselves, as soon as they became convinced that we could offer them real help in escaping from their grave situation—something that no other state institution has done. This is the problem. As a result of the contacts quickly created with such world-famous companies as McDonnell-Douglas, British Airspace, the Richard Rahn Group, and others, we were the only ones able to offer high-technology programs to the defense industry.

[Angelov] Apart from the Rover project, no publicity has been given to your other plans. What are they?

[Tanovski] The production of the Rover vehicle is merely a pilot project, behind which lies the production of a heavy military vehicle for NATO. We are holding talks with McDonnell-Douglas on assembling a military helicopter, and with the Rahn Group on servicing U.S. Hercules C-130 heavy transport aircraft. Israeli, Greek, and Turkish companies are seeking joint production in the electronics field and the manufacture of other military products.

[Angelov] In this case, what is the future for military conversion?

[Tanovski] To successfully convert the military industry, we need a detailed program, with new large capital investments guaranteed by the state. However, this was not done, only the political aspect of the conversion issue has remained, so that the enterprises of the military-industrial complex find themselves in an impasse. At the moment conversion is proceeding in a chaotic manner; production capacities valued at tens of billions of leva are making athletic shoes or stoves, which is nothing less than a crime. For example, the combine in Turgovishte has nine interconnected plants with production capacities valued at almost 10 billion leva. Any foreigner who visits the combine will be amazed at the robots, flexible automated production systems, and metalworking machines that they have there. The work force has been selectively built up over decades, and now faces mass layoffs. [passage omitted]

Havel Discusses Dam, Screenings, German Treaty

LD2405173692 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 24 May

[Interview with President Vaclav Havel by editor Stanislava Dufkova in Lany on 22 May within the framework of the weekly "Conversations at Lany" program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Dufkova] It is Friday afternoon and we are at Lany. Mr. President, last Tuesday you visited Slovakia. What impressions did you bring back with you? Are we going to have a common state or not?

[Havel] I visited southern Slovakia as I have done on several previous occasions. I was in Dunajska Streda as well as in other places. In Dunajska Streda I had a meeting with citizens and my overall impression is that the Czechs should put their trust in the wisdom of the Slovak people who, it appears to me, know well what is at stake at this moment; they are aware of various risks, are conscious of the significance of these elections, and are aware of various perspectives as well as various threats that may be encountered. From that meeting with citizens I brought with me thoroughly good impressions. I encountered there what I have encountered at many other meetings in Slovakia—a kind of good awareness that Slovakia should be a democratic state, that it should be a common state with the Czechs, and that we should proceed jointly toward the family of European democracies.

I also encountered citizens carrying a feeling of threat from certain somewhat adventurous concepts that could lead to the isolation of Slovakia and also to certain authoritative aspects of the government. Not only are they aware of such a threat but they are also prepared to counter it. In the elections, they are prepared to give their votes to those from whom they think such a threat is not forthcoming.

[Dufkova] Do you therefore have the feeling that the silent majority will show its strength?

[Havel] I do not know precisely what a silent majority is. During every visit to Slovakia I have met hundreds and thousands of people and most of the time I have not observed that they were silent.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, Gabcikovo is part of Slovakia and this is a problem which you have declared should be depoliticized. This has not happened.

[Havel] The report about the abrogation of the treaty on Gabcikovo by Hungary caught me precisely in the course of my tour of southern Slovakia, that is in places where the Gabcikovo construction project is situated and which poses an especially difficult problem for the local population. What can I add to that? From the very beginning I have realized that the project has its own political dimension. On our own side, and above all on the Slovak side, the project is to a certain degree understood as the most magnificent and the most extensive construction project on the territory of Slovakia. It is also a matter of Slovak pride and honor that something of such magnificence has come about there, something that can attract attention to Slovakia. At least I know that in the prehistory of the construction, that motive played a certain role. On the Hungarian side it is unfortunately the opposite case, where the whole anti-communist opposition formed around the subject of Gabcikovo and where the opposition to the project united all the opposition forces which later took over political power in Hungary. Gabcikovo became a symbol of opposition to communism. This is because this is a truly megalomanic construction, a construction which, in its own way, is beholden to the way of thinking that prevailed in the fifties when there was a belief in such grand constructions and when there was a belief in grandiose projects throughout the whole area under communist power.

I have always been a critic of this construction. Hungarian television asked me in Dunajska Streda how I could have changed so much during the past three years when three years ago I was an enemy of that project and now I am its friend. I replied that I have not changed in this matter. I have not become a lover of that project. I have merely understood that that project is a reality, that enormous sums, billions, have been invested in it, and whenever I discuss the subject with anyone I always ask what that person proposes? The demolition of the construction would cost around 20 billion [currency not specified]. I do not know precisely where we would acquire it. To leave it unfinished is the worst solution from an ecological viewpoint. Therefore, it is on the whole understandable that what is called a temporary, an emergency solution should have been adopted, and that is that the dam which should have been a joint one on the Danube in Dunakiliti and Hrusov is being built at another place on Czechoslovak territory. However, this has brought numerous problems. It is a terribly complicated legal, economic, ecological problem. It always seemed to me that we should attempt to rid this problem of its political dimension. This is because it is not good when politics interferes with the construction of a hydroelectric plant. Regrettably, we have not succeeded up to now to achieve this. The Hungarian Government therefore abrogated the treaty, and it seems to me that this is a step which will not help in any way to bring about an early, sensible solution or an agreement and which will rather politicize and dramatize the situation even further.

I remember that shortly after becoming president, more than two years ago, I visited Hungary. I had talks with Hungarian representatives—they were still communists—and we agreed that we are not going to talk about Gabcikovo, that we are not going to concern ourselves with that issue for three months and that we will put the problem entirely into the hands of experts, including inviting international ones, to tell us after three months what could be done at that stage. Nothing of this happened, however. We have been talking about it for the past two and a half years. The project has now begun

to assume a realistic shape. A three-member Hungarian-Czechoslovak-EC commission was to have dealt with the matter. What should have happened two years ago was finally to have happened now, but once again has met up with a hitch in this way. Nonetheless, let us not loose hope that despite the abrogation of the treaty the commission will begin its work; it will think up something and eventually an agreement will be reached. The thing is to come up with a specific solution which will simply be acceptable to all. Up to now, however, I not heard a proposal for such a solution that would be acceptable to all. [passage omitted]

[Dufkova] Mr. President, what do you think about the fact that your friend, Michael Kocab, who was the first to propose that you become president, has been registered as a candidate for secretly collaborating?

[Havel] To be honest, I am not surprised by this. They ran in circles around every person who was interesting to them and who attempted to do something, and they tried to catch him in their nets. In fact, in their documents they were free to call anybody a candidate.

[Dufkova] And what about you?

[Havel] They had been trying to involve me or bring me over to their side since the end of the fifties. That is why I was very surprised that I passed a number of screenings pure as a lily—after beginning as a hostile person posing the highest degree of danger. Simply, my documents were of the kind many people would pay many thousands in hard currency to get. Only recently, when I applied to be screened according to the present screening law, it became clear that my surprise was premature.

Allegedly I was also registered in 1965 for three months as a candidate and only subsequently was I moved to the category of a hostile person. The security service [StB] documents reveal that in June 1965—27 years ago—I was allegedly visited by the StB—I do not remember this any more of course—and that presumably I treated them in such a decent way that subsequently they decided to register me as a candidate. After three months—I do not know why, or in fact I do know why—they changed their mind. Thus the appropriate commission issued a certificate to me that I had not been a knowing StB collaborator. I have to admit that I felt a bit saddened by this positive certificate. Recalling that I was tormented at least 500 times by their endless interrogations, how they kept putting me in prison, entering my apartment like terrorists, hunting me, persecuting all my relatives and friends, damaging my car—I feel it is a bit dismal that after all that I had to obtain a piece of paper stating that I was not a knowing collaborator. Perhaps I was an unknowing one then.

[Dufkova] What did you feel, Mr. President, when you learned all this?

[Havel] I did not worry about this at all. The truth is that I am really troubled when I make a mistake, when I fail in any way, or if I do not stand up to some sort of a test. This has happened to me several times in my life and I would not wish the suffering I consequently went through on anybody, not even on StB members involved with my case. Nevertheless, this was not such a case. The fact that they described me in this way and subsequently lifted this label from me is their problem, not mine.

[Dufkova] Do you think that our public, politicians, and journalists will be satisfied with this statement?

[Havel] I give them my permission to acquaint themselves with the documents in question. According to the screening law it is me who has the right to declassify my documents, and I am doing so just now. Personally, I did not read the documents in question and I am not going to read them because I am not interested in them.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, why did you confess to this at all? You could simply say that you are pure and truthful.

[Havel] I did not want to conceal this. You know, personally I do not consider this to be any information about myself—this is information about an StB member. Nevertheless, my view is that people have the right to know everything involving the head of state.

[Dufkova] Mr. President, were you not surprised when the situation concerning a treaty between our country and the FRG became complicated, when a resolution which was not supposed to be there emerged?

[Havel] I would not say that the situation became complicated. It is the habit of Germany and of the Bundestag to accompany important treaties with separate resolutions. The fact that the Bundestag adopted the resolution is neither shocking nor surprising, but puzzling. [passage omitted]

Ninety percent of the resolution's text, in fact, expresses consent with the treaty, stresses its significance, expresses approval of the treaty and awareness of its significance. I found it satisfying that rather a large part of the resolution was devoted to a totally unequivocal and emphatic condemnation of all the suffering and wrong caused by the Germans to the Czechs and Slovaks in recent history. [passage omitted]

To be honest, the resolution contains formulations which can cause a bit of uneasiness on our side—the formulation calling on our government to strive in some way to give an opportunity for German citizens to settle on our territory, including people living formerly in Sudetenland, before we become a member of the European Community. In itself this is nothing shocking—nowhere in the text is the government asked to support Sudetenland Germans' property demands. What is said is simply that this issue continues to be open, that the treaty does not solve it. And this is true. Overall trust is expressed that the governments will cooperate well, understand each other's stances, and meet the other half way. Thus I would not worry about this. [passage omitted]

Calfa Interviewed on Government Peformance

LD2205190992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 22 May 92

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by correspondent Miroslav Dittrich; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Dittrich] Mr. Premier, approximately 29 months have passed since the day when, on 10 December 1989, you introduced a new federal government which was called the Government of National Understanding. I am of the opinion that your ideas, as well as the ideas of other members of the government at that time, were, perhaps, slightly different from how things developed. Can you look back at that period and say what, in your view, you have truly achieved and what you regret not having done?

[Calfa] Well, it is truly 29 months; time flies very fast. I do not even realize that it is such a long time. If I were to characterize the general feeling that I have about it today I should say that I had a feeling of great anticipation and, perhaps, even the beginnings of idealism because, after all, the functioning of the state and of a society of mass legality cannot be circumvented or replaced by anything else. In other words, it is some kind of humble search for a balanced functioning of Czechoslovakia in which many things have already been introduced. We regard them as matter of fact and we have forgotten that they are new in our lives. Naturally, there is also disenchantment about some [word indistinct] which we did not account for, about some disorders which we did not expect. In the final analysis, there is even some disenchantment over the fact that general agreement, harmony, consensus, as we say in the modern world, is very difficult because we are in a process of transformation and in many fields there are not only good but also bad human qualitites.

[Dittrich] Mr. Premier, the Federal Government has always acted as one team, but today we know that there were some differences of views, particularly regarding the economic reform and, above all, its individual phases. Do you think that this could be responsible for the reform not being started earlier, for example, the major privatization?

[Calfa] I do not have the impression that the government would [word indistinct] that at one time it appeared united when this was not the case. Indeed, it was united. It agreed all the documents, all the draft bills. There are more than 120 laws which the government submitted to the parliament, which changed the basic legal amendments which we have. It worked as one whole and, in my view, only recently did the fragmentation start. In the latest period, some kind of role-searching has been going on in the pre-election medley linked to working out programs, and it is here, naturally, that there are differences. The government has those characteristics which are natural and functional in all coalition governments—differences in views on the basis of political programs. So the period which lasted roughly until the end of last year or the beginning of this year can be characterized as some kind of concentrated search for solutions, so that the direction of the steps taken then was through the agreement of the entire government. What is taking place in the first half of this year is a search for the point of departure for the new elections. I consider it natural.

[Dittrich] Mr. Premier, I would like to talk about the state and constitutional set up. We know that the parties, which are more or less proclaiming the Slovak Republic's independence in Slovakia, so to speak, are polling over 50 percent of the votes in election opinion surveys. At the same time, however, when citizens are asked in public opinion polls whether they want an independent Slovakia, the percentage is substantially lower. How can we explain this discrepancy?

[Calfa] It is only an illusory discrepancy. It looks like an illusory lack of logic and so I would like to correct a little of what you said. The point is that I have arrived at the view that not only on the Slovak, but also on the Czech political scene there are forces working on the basis of a realistic conception of independent statehood, Czech statehood. This phenomenon was naturally broader and stronger in Slovakia, its tradition is longer, and finally, it is also reflected in the crystal clear policies of some distinctly profiled parties and movements. This factor is not so clearly defined in the Czech political environment. But it is, in fact, present in both parts of our republic.

The point is that Slovakia's development differed from that of the Czech lands. After World War II Slovakia received strong preferential treatment as a part of the process of levelling standards [with Bohemia], because its standard in this state was, indeed, below par. And so, with the help of state policies and the state budget, Slovakia achieved a qualitiative change. In other words, it is difficult to explain to people that state assistance should be dropped, because they link state participation with success, with a perceptible and qualitative change in their life. In other words, they do not harbor too much of a desire for basic qualitative changes—those enormous, fundamental changes which are so natural for the population of the Czech Republic. They view with some anxiety the possibility that this could amount to a lack of success. On the other hand, the questions they ask are simple: Three years ago, under the communists, under socialism, butter cost 10 korunas, now it costs double. In two years, they say, things have gone up by exactly 100 percent. They absolutely refuse to accept the explanation that it is part of a strategy, and so on. And the reform is then linked with a worsening of living conditions and from this naturally follows its rejection. And thus, on the one hand there is a common state and they are aware of its (?strength), and on the other hand, in the second part of this common state there are phenomena which they fear and reject. If a politician appears, who will simply (?voice) this concern or who promises better development then the social element—the fear of possible economic developments—because this is closest to people's hearts—will become dominant. This is why we are

becoming schizophrenic. On the one hand, we would like to see a common state, because we feel it would be better that way, but on the other hand we would be happiest if the ideas, which are not coming from Prague of course but which certain political movements and parties are quite widely promulgating in Slovakia. [sentence as heard] And as a result they glorify the leading officials of tnese political movements. This means that their affections go to a specific person and to his idea. Unfortunately, the idea and the person do not always merge to bear the same identity.

Carnogursky Urges Continuation of Common State

AU2305180492 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 18 May 92 p 1

[Alexander Miartus report: "I Am Not Going To Sue Anyone"]

[Excerpts] Following his working tour of Zvolen and Banska Bystrica districts, [Slovak] Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky met with the citizens of Banska Bystrica on 15 May. [passage omitted] The guest delivered only a brief address to provide as much scope as possible for questions and comments from the audience. Most questions concerned the problems of constitutional arrangement.

Jan Carnogursky reproached those who have chosen as their main trump card in the election campaign the breakup of the common state, insinuating even that "the time has come" [allusion to the election slogan of the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement—"Slovakia, your time has come"], for showing less concern for what would follow the breakup. He pointed out that the example of Slovenia is being used, which has already gained independence. Indeed, the Slovenes are independent, but their standard of living has drastically fallen, from an average monthly income of 800 to 150 German marks. Peace in Yugoslavia is still nowhere in sight. The Hungarian parties are already beginning to enforce autonomy [for parts of Slovakia with a Hungarian-speaking majority], and unrest in the event of our becoming independent cannot be ruled out. What are we to do if this happens—send in the police, perhaps? That would not solve anything.... Let us also not conceal the fact that the "more genuinely Slovak" forces in our country tend to be more militant and less capable of dialogue and peaceful solutions. This might provoke a counter-reaction on the Czech side. We should learn a lesson from history. In 1848 the people around [19th century Slovak nationalist Ludovit] Stur were able to count on foreign support. In 1939 we marched, in fact, with the German power. On whom could we rely now? Does such a partner exist? "Personally, I do not see him anywhere," the speaker added.

A gradualist approach can be regarded as the only pragmatic solution. We can already see the specific results of such steps, stemming from the advantageous combination of visits by officials from both republics to various countries.

It is equally important to realize that, in the event of an electoral victory of parties such as the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, the Slovak National Party, and the Slovak Christian Democratic Movement, Slovakia would drift into a blind alley economically. It is no secret that the representatives of these political parties have in their programs, among other things, the reassessment of coupon privatization. This could mean the calling into question or the halting of coupon privatization, on which 2.5 million citizens in Slovakia have put their stake. Some 730 enterprises have been included in the first privatization wave alone. What could be done with them if coupon privatization were to be halted? The experience of Hungary, which does not know this method, shows that, in its absence, privatization is proceeding very slowly. Up to 60 percent of the capital in Hungary is transferred into foreign hands.

A series of questions and answers followed. One cannot but return to one of them, asked by a lady sitting in one of the front rows: "Meciar has labelled the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and yourself as swindlers. Will you sue him for that?" [passage omitted]

Jan Carnogursky replied with a smile and his characteristic peace of mind that neither the KDH nor he intend to take anyone to court, particularly in the election campaign period. He added literally: "I am not going to sue anyone. It is not my method but that method of someone else. The best thing will be for voters to decide everything in the elections." [passage omitted]

Cabinet Reviews Dam, Communist Party Assets

AU2505150192 Prague CSTK in English 2124 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Prague May 21 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak Government at its session today charged Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier to gather all necessary documents on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric project so that it can decide on its further line on the issue.

On Wednesday, the Hungarian Government definitively said it will rescind the 1977 Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement on the Danube project, while Czechoslovakia wants to complete at least its part at Gabcikovo.

The government also approved a report on the transfer to the state of the property of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (KSC) and the former Socialist Union of Youth (SSM), submitted by Kvetoslava Korinkova, federal control minister.

As of December 31, 1989, the Communist property was worth 12,600 million crowns (420 million USD). According to the report, property worth 900 million crowns (30 million USD) or 7.1 percent of the total was still to be transferred at the beginning of the year.

The cabinet approved concluding an intergovernmental agreement with Germany on international truck road transport which eases 14 types of this kind of transport.

The cabinet also approved conclusion of a friendship treaty with Ukraine. It will not be conceived as a treaty of alliance, which means it will not contain an obligation of mutual assistance in case of an armed attack on the other side.

The cabinet discussed aid to developing countries which is limited by the transformation of the economy. It will be granted in accord with the interests of Czechoslovakia and the international community.

The government earmarked 10.5 million crowns (350 million USD) for developing this year contacts with Czechs and Slovaks living abroad.

Five million crowns (170,000 USD) were earmarked for humanitarian projects in Czechoslovakia, including one center for homeless people in Prague and two centers for homeless people, single mothers and lone elderly people in Slovakia.

The government also agreed to guarantee the repayment of a credit from the Export-Import Bank of the United States and the Citibank N.A. of Britain for the purchases of new planes for the Czechoslovak Airlines worth a total of 141.5 million USD.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 22 May on pages 1 and 2 carries a 550-word "jop"-signed report on the Federal Government session. The report includes the following additional passage: "In the second half of this year wage regulation will apply only to enterprises that have not been privatized and in which the state holds more 50 percent of the assets. This was announced by Deputy Federal Prime Minister Pavel Hoffmann after yesterday's meeting of the Federal Government at Kolodeje near Prague. Joint ventures with foreign capital participation of more than 30 percent, cooperative enterprises, and privatized enterprises will be exempt from regulatory levies imposed for exceeding wage costs and other personnel-related costs. (These will be exempted from wage regulation with effect from the last day of the month preceding their privatization). The decree on wage regulation provides for two bands depending on return on capital. Companies with a return on capital under 12 percent must not raise wages by more than 10 percent. Companies with a return on capital of more than 12 percent must not raise wages by more than 15 percent. In each band, deviations of up to 3 percent will be tolerated. The decree on wage regulation will go into force on 1 June. The decree also stimulates cuts in artificial employment. Companies that reduce their staff by up to 10 percent will be able to use 50 percent of the savings in wage costs for remuneration."]

Dienstbier Meets Kozyrev for Talks at Airport

LD2305091792 Prague Federal 1 Television Network in Czech 1730 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Old Ruzyne airport was the location last night of a brief stop by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who was welcomed by his Czechoslovak counterpart Jiri Dienstbier. Following more than an hour of discussion, he told us the following:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] We went into greater detail on those questions which are bothering us, i.e., the questions of the Transcaucasus, Yugoslavia, Moldova, etc. We talked about the preparation of the Helsinki summit, because the only perspective, in my view, is in speeding up the construction of the system of mutual links of all the European institutions. [end recording]

The Russian Foreign Minister visited Prague on his way to Lisbon where, under the patronage of the European Community, there will be a conference on the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina and on Western aid for the Commonwealth of Independent States. Asked if he is going to report there on the Russian peace initiative in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Andrey Kozyrev said: For the time being, we will not submit any specific plans at the Lisbon talks with representatives of the Twelve on resolving the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, because we still face talks in the former Yugoslav republics and in Sarajevo, in particular. I think that as far as this question is concerned, we are building on identical positions, based on the need to halt nationalistic passions, to reach a cease-fire and launch constructive talks. We shall support the effort of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, despite our present friendly relations with Belgrade, he said. Good relations with the parties interested will make it possible for us to submit certain variants of the solution of the conflict.

CSTK Reporter Assaulted by Local in Havana

AU2505071192 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 20 May 92 p 8

[Report by Ondrej Kosina, CSTK correspondent in Havana: "Czechoslovak Journalist Assaulted in Cuba"]

[Text] The CSTK correspondent in Havana has become victim of a provocation, during which denunciations were hurled at him and he was repeatedly physically assaulted:

I and my colleague from the Polish agency barely sat down at a table in the Victoria hotel near the CSTK office in Havana on Monday [18 May] when a tall man, about 50 years old, began to scream as though he were out of his mind: "You Czechoslovak swine. You have betrayed socialism...." He then pounced upon me and a heavy blow landed in my face. The Polish correspondent suffered an eye injury.

The waiters then overpowered the assailant and called the police. We followed the police car with the assailant to an emergency ward where our injuries were attended to. There I managed to get close to a policeman who was holding a Cuban identity card belonging to the assailant. I was able to read the name Ronald Ridendour.

After our arrival at the police station, the policemen escorted the assailant out and evidently contacted their superiors. The provocation then had another sequel.

When they learned who we were and what happened, their initially polite behavior changed. They started to behave aggressively toward me and the Polish colleague and rudely rejected the possibility of us contacting our embassies. They said that they had no telephone.

The whole provocation reached its climax when after midnight, after several hours of waiting when they did not even let us rise from the bench, the Cuban policemen let the assailant freely enter the room. He used the moment of surprise and, with the policemen's indifferent assistance, hit me again. I protested, whereupon two corpulent black policemen started to drag me along the floor, to persuade me with the help of their fists, and tore my shirt to pieces so that I would not forget.

A subsequent glance into my archive made it immediately clear to me why Ronald Ridendour, of all people, had been selected for this anti-Czechoslovak provocation. He was well-suited for this purpose, above all, because he used to be a U.S. citizen and even today cannot easily be labelled as a Cuban, despite his possession of a Cuban identity card. In the fifties Ronald Ridendour used to be member of an elite U.S. air force unit and was taking part in espionage flights over the territory of Cuba and the USSR. It is generally assumed that he was working for the Cuban secret service as a double agent. He used to be a dyed-in-the-wool anticommunist but three years ago he abruptly changed his persuasion, packed his suitcases and fled to Cuba.

The only thing that is still a mystery to me is how the party that staged the whole provocation wants to explain how Ridendour recognized that I was from the CSFR, after having seen me for barely 10 seconds.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin Arrives in Budapest

Holds Talks With Antall, Goncz

LD2105203292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 21 May 92

[Istvan Kulcsar report]

[Excerpts] Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, who arrived in Budapest today, was given a festive reception outside Parliament House with military honors. Afterward, the Ukrainian head of state held an hour and a half discussion with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall. Fokin was later received by Hungarian President Arpad Goncz. [passage omitted]

At the prime ministerial discussions, which spokesman Laszlo Balazs described as friendly, cordial, and relaxed, there were two main topics: international relations, including the international situation in general, and bilateral relations.

Prime Minister Antall, speaking about the international situation, highlighted that Hungary considers it important for Ukraine and Hungary to cooperate in easing the tension in our region. If we do not manage to create peaceful conditions in the region, then perhaps foreign investors, who think in terms of regions, will not readily come here.

Jozsef Antall characterized our relations with the European Community. The Ukrainian prime minister said he would like Hungary to be a bridge between Ukraine and the EC. Jozsef Antall said that we wish to maintain good relations with all Soviet successor states, but the most important one for us—and we do not hide this from the others—is Ukraine.

Jozsef Antall stated that one of the most important dangers in the region is that armies might slip outside civil control.

In the matter of bilateral relations the two leaders raised the issue of economic ties, which both sides consider very important.

The situation of Magyardom in sub-Carpathia was also raised. Prime Minister Antall described it as exemplary. He said it might be worth considering the issue of Hungarian autonomy in sub-Carpathia.

Ukrainian Prime Minister Fokin on the whole agreed with the things Prime Minister Antall said. [passage omitted] Regarding Magyar autonomy, he first stressed that the Magyar nationality in Ukraine suffers no disadvantages. In Beregszasz [Beregovoy] a professional Hungarian theater will be set up in the near future. He did not express any definites about autonomy. To be more precise, if I understood correctly, he said that it is worth considering the issue of autonomy but it would not be timely to draw new boundaries. It would simply not be fitting in today's Europe.

At the discussion with Arpad Goncz the same issues were raised. Goncz stressed that he is the first foreign head of state to visit independent Ukraine. He said we support Ukraine's coming abreast of Europe and likewise described as important the economic relations and the minority issue.

Prime Minister Fokin said that Ukraine wishes to cooperate with all Commonwealth of Independent States countries, but along with this, or perhaps even before this, it considers cooperation with Hungary extremely important. [passage omitted]

Bilateral Agreements Signed

LD2205180692 Budapest MTI in English 1659 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—In the presence of Prime Ministers Jozsef Antall of Hungary and Vitold Fokin of Ukraine, representatives of the two countries signed agreements on the development of bilateral relations in Budapest on Friday [22 May].

Finance Ministers Mihaly Kupa of Hungary and Grigory Piatachenko of Ukraine signed an agreement on inter-ministry cooperation. Under the agreement, Ukraine will spare no effort to settle the still open issues of financial accounting between the two countries. The sides took a stand for setting up joint ventures. They said negotiations on the elimination of double taxation and on investment protection should start as soon as possible and the related agreements should be concluded next year at the latest.

Ministers of International Economic Relations Bela Kadar of Hungary and Anatoliy Voronkov of Ukraine signed an agreement on setting up an inter-governmental committee for commercial, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

The ministers signed a coordinated list of commodities and services to be exchanged this year. The document declares that inter-company deals are concluded in free currency, at world market prices.

Peter Akos Bod, president of the National Bank of Hungary, and Vadim Hetman, president of the National Bank of Ukraine, signed a cooperation agreement, which envisages exchanges of information and consultations on developing a mutually acceptable system of accounting. Should Ukraine issue a national currency of its own, the two banks will examine how national currencies could be applied in bilateral accounting.

After the signing ceremony, prime minister delivered a brief speech and presented an icon to Vitold Fokin. Originating from the early 18th century, the icon was taken to Hungary during the Second World War, and purchased by the government from a private collection recently. The icon was handed over to the Ukrainian premier with the symbolic message that all works of arts should be returned to their rightful owners. "We would welcome if the Hungarian works of art were also returned to Hungary," Antall said.

Antall, Fokin Issue Communique

LD2205195592 Budapest MTI in English 1828 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Budapest, May 22 (MTI)—Prime Ministers Jozsef Antall of Hungary and Vitold Fokin of Ukraine issued a joint communique on their talks in Budapest on May 21-22.

In the communique, the premiers expressed their intention to develop relations between the two countries under the principles of democratic development, the inviolability of borders and territorial integrity, and the settlement of disputes through exclusively peaceful means. They emphasized the importance of continuous dialogue, and confirmed their stance for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in East Central Europe.

Both sides said the two countries should sign a concrete agreement on the expansion of bilateral commercial and economic relations so as to create the conditions of cooperation between companies and entrepreneurs. They pressed for concluding further agreements on the elimination of double taxation, on currency allocations for tourists, and on money transfers by resettlers from Ukraine to Hungary.

The Hungarian delegation raised the idea that Ukraine should repay its share of former Soviet debts. The Ukrainian delegation termed the demand as justified, and promised to study the issue.

The prime ministers spoke in terms of satisfaction about cooperation in enforcing the rights of national minorities, and exchanged views on measures to be taken. They stressed the importance of cooperation between border regions, and agreed to make preparations for opening additional border posts. Both sides pledged to develop the infrastructure of the border regions.

The Hungarian delegation raised the issue of returning the Hungarian works of art, historical relics and archives believed to be on Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainian side expressed its readiness to study the issue with good will, and announced that it would claim to treat Ukrainian cultural assets and archives in Hungary similarly.

Fokin invited antall for an official visit to Ukraine. The Hungarian prime minister accepted the invitation with thanks.

Socialist Party Congress Presents Policy Plan

AU2105135592 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 May 92 pp 1, 5

[Report by Gyorgy Andras Lengyel and Pal Szombathy: "The 12 Points of the Hungarian Socialist Party"]

[Excerpts] At its congress held in Szeged over the weekend, the Hungarian Socialist Party submitted a 12-point plan aimed at easing Hungary's economic and social crisis. The 360 delegates elected the leadership prior to discussing the issues on the agenda. [passage omitted]

Reelected Chairman Gyula Horn strongly criticized the Antall government policy which, in his view, could develop as a result of the coup-like pact signed with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ]. "This pact made it almost impossible to replace the government or some of its members and it also subordinated the privatization process, social security, the tax system, and the administration of justice to the wishes of the government coalition"—Gyula Horn said. He added that this government, which calls itself the guarantor of freedom, is increasingly trying to limit the rights of people, institutions, and organizations, it is striving to exclude and settle accounts with those who think differently under the pretext of providing justice, and it is providing money, jobs, and power to servile officials and clients. According to Gyula Horn, "it is immoral to deal with something one does not know!" The MSZP chairman listed the 12 points with which, in the view of the MSZP, it would be possible to stop... "the collapse of the current economic system, which is basically against performance," and results could be achieved in social policy. Instead of financing the government's exaggerated expenditure, the incomes originating from the privatization of state property should be used for investments that create jobs and develop the infrastructure, as well as for reducing Hungary's state debts.

Social security and local self-government bodies should receive working capital, and the profit should be used to cover expenses like maintaining the real value of pensions, expanding the network of roads, telephones, and the infrastructure, as well as building welfare housing. Citizens should receive property. The hard currency incomes above the safe hard currency reserves of $2.5 billion should be used for job-creating investments and supporting new ventures.

Licenses and the right to purchase real estate and lands should be guaranteed for foreign entrepreneurs in order to encourage their desire to invest in Hungary. Hungary should try to regain its lost Eastern markets by means of state support, international loans, and international agreements. Hungary should create the security of agricultural production and should guarantee state purchase of agricultural produce.

In harmony with its interests, Hungary should accelerate its integration in the EC and the National Assembly examine whether our association agreement with the EC is in line with our economic interests, primarily our agricultural and food processing interests.

All citizens should receive basic health and social assistance, as well as free education. Social security bodies should receive 600-700 billion forints to create a functional pension and health insurance system. Likewise, all citizens whose basic income does not reach the subsistence level should receive welfare pensions, and the government should encourage the spread of voluntary pension funds and make the interest on housing loans affordable. [passage omitted]

Walesa Calls For Improved Ties With Russia

LD2205222292 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Moscow, May 22—We are ready for a wide-range cooperation with Russia, President Lech Walesa said during a press conference held Friday evening and summing up the first part of his visit to Russia.

"We have opened a new chapter in Polish-Russian relations," Walesa declared at the start of the conference. "The old epoch is not helping us. Our history was complicated. Some people find it difficult to break away from it. It is easy with parliamentarians and businessmen, down to earth people. This is a cause for satisfaction and gives the hope that what we shall build will stand on a foundation of practice."

"Our tough talks were those concerning the past," the Polish president went on. "When we discussed the future, the talks have been soft and fruitful. There are no topics concerning the future that we would be unable to find agreement on," Walesa stressed.

Answering questions on Polish-Ukrainian relations, Walesa said: "We have started building the Polish-Ukrainian relations from scratch, without looking back. That is why the process is easier compared to relations with Russia in which there are problems due to looking backwards. I would like Poland and Russia to be the pillars in Eastern Europe. Poland is ready for and wants this, but it takes two to tango."

Friday morning President Walesa held face to face talks with his Russian counterpart Boris Yeltsin in the Kremlin. Before the meeting started, Yeltsin said he hoped a new era in Russian-Polish relations would thus begin based on mutual understanding, partnership, mutual advantages and good neighbourliness.

Commenting on the talks and the first day of President Walesa's visit to Moscow, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski told reporters that they probably were a breakthrough in the history of both states.

"Polish-Russian relations were always tense and full of complications, and this applies in particular to the last 50 years," he said. "Now we face the chance of making a big step forward."

Drzycimski stressed that "the two presidents reached more than a convergence of views" on the topics they discussed. The signed agreements were evidence of opening a really new chapter, when historical issues would not be treated as first priorities. "Of course, we must not forget the past, but we look differently on the questions of the present day and the future. All political and economic issues as well as those related to the withdrawal of ex- Soviet troops from Poland were discussed on an entirely new plane, one free from confrontation."

Drzycimski said the two presidents agreed to have their next meeting in Poland, but no date had been fixed.

When the Russian and Polish presidents held their talks, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Russian Deputy Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin signed a Polish-Russian consular convention and a declaration on cultural, scientific and educational cooperation between Polish and Russian governments.

Skubiszewski and Russian Finance Minister Vassily Barchuk signed an agreement on a provisional settlement of the question of avoiding double taxation.

Skubiszewski and Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev signed an additional protocol on the sale of movable property owned by Russian troops withdrawing from Poland, while the Polish Minister of Transport Ewaryst Waligorski and Minister Grachev signed an agreement on transport issues related to the troop withdrawal.

An agreement on border crossing points was signed by the Polish commander of the border guards and his Russian counterpart.

Earlier in the morning, before the meeting with President Yeltsin, Walesa laid wreaths on the tomb of unknown soldier and at the monument to victims of totalitarianism.

Following the meeting with Boris Yeltsin Polish-Russian plenary talks started. President Walesa then had a meeting with the Chairman of Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov, after which he met with Poles living in Moscow at the churchyard of the Immaculate Conception Church at Little Georgian Street, not far from the Polish embassy. The church was built in 1911 and financed from contributions of Poles.

On Friday evening, Walesa received former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Polish embassy in Moscow. It was the first ever meeting between the two statesmen and Walesa declared afterwards that "today I have come to know the greatness of Mr. President Gorbachev. I was (his) student, and I remain one."

Describing the 70-minute long talk to reporters, Walesa said that "we have a very similar vision of the world and solutions" that were necessary.

He called Gorbachev "the great jewel of Russia" and added he hoped Gorbachev "will continue his (public) activities, because the times require this of him. I am also convinced that President Yeltsin will successfully solve many problems, and both I and Mr. Gorbachev wish him well."

Gorbachev said that "history itself has decided that Ukraine, Russia and Poland should cooperate. Today there is no such cooperation (between the three), although it is necessary for them and the world. I think that this is a priority goal in the foreign policies of the three states."

Walesa invited Gorbachev to Poland.

Walesa, Yeltsin Statement Condemns Stalinism

LD2205222692 Warsaw PAP in English 2107 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Moscow, May 22—Lech Walesa and Boris Yeltsin on Friday issued a joint statement in which the two presidents condemned the former Stalinist regime.

Both sides acknowledged that "the Stalinist regime caused enormous suffering and brought irreversible moral harm to Polish and Russian people."

"Poland and Russia, condemning the anti-humanitarian essence of totalitarism in all its forms, declare their determination to overcome the negative effects of the past and to give new quality to bilateral relations in the future basing on positive values from the history of both nations and states, as well as on the international law, democracy and observance of human rights," reads the statement.

The document, not envisaged during preparations to President Walesa's Russian visit, was adopted on the Polish initiative.

Walesa Claims Visit to Russia Successful

LD2405015492 Warsaw PAP in English 2248 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Moscow, Gdansk, May 23—"We achieved everything we wanted, in relation to the past history and the future prospects" of Polish-Russian relations, and it was now a priority for Poland to build a future with Russia, President Walesa told reporters at Gdansk airport on Saturday evening after returning from his official visit to Russia.

Earlier in the day, President Walesa had flown from Moscow to Smolensk, after the completion of the official part of his visit, where he attended a memorial service in the Katyn Forest, at the site of the graves of Polish officers murdered by the Soviet NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] in 1940.

Afterwards, President Walesa flew to St. Petersburg on the last stage of his visit to Russia. He was greeted at the airport by Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of St. Petersburg, and Polish Consul General Zdzislaw Nowicki.

Following a meeting with the city authorities, President Walesa met with members of St. Petersburg's Polish community, including pupils at the city's Polish school, at a reception at the Polish Consulate.

Addressing the reception, President Walesa said that his visit to Russia marked the end of a period of stagnation in Polish-Russian relations, and he called on all those present to play their part in building cooperation and friendship between the two nations.

President Walesa returned to Gdansk by air on Saturday evening.

At an improvised press conference at Gdansk airport, Presidential Press Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said that President Walesa had been engaged in "difficult negotiations" with the Russian side over the question of troop withdrawals from Poland. President Walesa had put forward the so-called "zero option" (ie. that neither side should make a claim for compensation relating to the stationing of the former Soviet Army in Poland). Drzycimski believed that the offer would be accepted by the Russian side.

Skubiszewski Summarizes Troop Talks With Russia

LD2405023292 Warsaw PAP in English 2059 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski described the just-ended Moscow visit by President Lech Walesa as an opening of an entirely new chapter in relations with Russia.

"We now have the issue of troop withdrawal from Poland fully agreed, something which we did not have so far," he went on. This is an important achievement, but a short-term issue, while what really matters is the (beginning of a) long-term policy of very good relations and cooperation with Russia, Skubiszewski said. As an example of such policy the minister gave the agreement signed in Moscow on contacts with the Kaliningrad region.

Speaking to journalists on his return to Poland, Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski said that the treaty signed in Moscow created a solid framework for the development of Polish-Russian relations. Skubiszewski told reporters that negotiations with the Russian side on the withdrawal of the troops of the former Soviet Union from Poland had continued up to the last moment. But he noted with satisfaction that an issue "on which I have worked since my first months in office" is now settled.

Skubiszewski said that the main aim of Poland's eastern policy was clear. Poland will do all within her limited means to ensure stability and build cooperation throughout the region. "Poland will not become involved in the conflicts between the republics of the former Soviet Union," he stressed.

Skubiszewski emphasized that the visit was a personal success for President Lech Walesa, particularly in the "face to face" negotiations with President Yeltsin. "I cannot imagine a better defender of Poland's interests (in these negotiations) than President Lech Walesa," he said.

Democratic Union Calls For Government's Recall

LD2405142492 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] During a meeting of the Council of the Democratic Union today, Bronislaw Geremek, Jan Rokita, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, Andrzej Celinski and Jan Krol were put forward as possible Union candidates for prime minister. It was decisively felt, however, that the sole candidate should be Union leader Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

The Democratic Union's council feels that deputies in the Union should seek the recall of the government of Jan Olszewski. In the view of Bronislaw Geremek, this ought to be through a vote of consructive dismissal, that is, with the indication of the candidate for the new prime minister.

Olszewski Claims Economy Showing Improvement

LD2505153392 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Premier Jan Olszewski today attended a meeting of the National Council of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union Solidarity of Private Farmers and answered questions from those assembled. Asked his opinion of the present political situation of the government, the premier pointed to the trend toward improvement in the economic situation; for example the lower than expected inflation, the rise in production, and the improvement in the balance of payments. He continued:

[Begin Olszewski recording] Ladies and gentlemen, I get the impression that the fact that there is something like an economic flicker which seems to be leading toward better prospects creates, all at the same time, a state of tremendous nervousness among our political elite. This government, the first government to be based on political forces other than the post-nomenklatura forces or the forces of the left, which are in sympathy with the old post- nomenklatura—well, this government, from the very beginning, as you very well know, ladies and gentlemen, was not popular among a sizeable majority of our—let us be careful what one calls them—political elite. But when the moment comes when there is a possibility that this government might achieve success—this causes particular nervousness among these elites. And at such moments attacks on us increase.

I treat this, ladies and gentlemen, as a perfectly normal thing; that is always how things are in a situation in which somebody's interests are decidedly at risk. [end recording]

[Announcer] Jan Olszewski announced an intensification of the struggle with what remains of communism in the economy and with the black area of the economy which is the result of the last two years. Premier Olszewski several times criticized the previous government for a policy which—among other things—brought about the collapse of the state finances.

The premier's statement was undoubtedly linked to yesterday's debates of the Political Council of the Democratic Union which—as you certainly know, ladies and gentlemen—has declared itself in favor of the dismissal of Jan Olszewski's government and the creation of a new government under the leadership of Tadeusz Mazowiecki. In the opinion of the Union, the present government gives no guarantee of restoring the state's weakening authority nor of continuing the economic and political reforms. Therefore, in the view of the Democratic Union, it is essential to appoint a government which would have a majority in Parliament, would cooperate with the president, and would be based on agreement between the main political centers.

Walesa Said To Favor Skubiszewski as Premier

AU2005133092 Warsaw NOWA EUROPA in Polish 13 May 92 p 4

['A.S.'-signed report: "Krzysztof Skubiszewski as a Candidate for Prime Minister"]

[Text] We have learned from politicians who have requested anonymity that Minister Skubiszewski is the president's latest candidate for the office of prime minister.

The day before Lech Walesa and Krzysztof Skubiszewski addressed the Sejm, the two politicians held a meeting at the Belvedere. In addition to foreign affairs, they discussed the crisis affecting the Jan Olszewski government and the need to create a genuine alternative to it. Asked whether he would be prepared to accept the mission of forming a new cabinet, Minister Skubiszewski said that he would. In his Sejm address, he devoted particular attention to the fundamental significance of the country's domestic situation for the pursuit of foreign policy. Krzysztof Skubiszewski is currently the only politician who has served as a minister in three successive democratic governments. He is also not linked to any political party. He is highly regarded as a specialist by both public opinion and politicians, which would be an additional plus for his candidacy. Perhaps that is why he stands a chance of obtain the backing of a majority of parliamentary groupings.

Skubiszewski Presents Draft EC Association Law

LD2105183292 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 21 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 21—Minister of Foreign Affairs Krzysztof Skubiszewski presented Thursday to the Sejm (Lower House) a government-prepared draft law on Polish association with the European Community.

Commenting upon Poland's association with the European Community, the minister expressed an opinion that it "would define Poland's place in Europe for many years." He added that the association "primarily had a political meaning" for Poland.

"We want to push aside the phantom of totalitarianism and to ensure better future for democracy in our country," said Krzysztof Skubiszewski and added: "Owing to their treaties and tradition, the European Community is "the stronghold of democracy in the world", comparable to the United States.

Skubiszewski also stated that the association treaty would improve Poland's geopolitical situation because "it assumed conducting a permanent political dialogue, that is consultations between the president of the Council of Europe, the president of the commission of the European Community and the Polish president". He explained that the dialogue would be conducted on the parliamentary and government levels.

The head of Polish diplomacy told the MPs [members of parliament] that the association treaty was a transitional stage (about 10 years), necessary to prepare Poland for future association with the EC. During this period, Poland will be treated as a privileged partner of the European Community, with certain trade facilitations granted.

The minister also said that apart from resolutions concerning trade, the treaty included resolutions on free capital flow, establishment of enterprises and social protection for Poles legally working abroad. As a result of the treaty "four basic liberties will be extended over Poland: liberties of flow of commodities, services, people and capital," concluded the foreign minister.

Lack of Quorum Prevents Vote

LD2205084792 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0430 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Lack of a quorum prevented the Sejm from deciding the fate of the government bill on ratifying the treaty on Poland's association with the EC. Government representatives took the floor in the final part of the debate, which ended late last night. They pointed out that although the treaty is far from perfect, it is the most that could be achieved.

[Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish at 0500 GMT on 22 May adds in a similar report: "For years, the West meant freedom and prosperity to us. Generations of Poles, subjugated after the Yalta settlement, dreamed of Europe. This is why we read in ZYCIE WARSZAWY that the Polish parliament debate on ratifying the treaty should have been an historic day of celebration. However, that is not how it was. During the debate, so fundamentally important for the state's future, the Sejm's debating chamber emptied at times. Voices in the debate questioned the sense of the treaty and the need to link ourselves with Europe."]

Sejm Committee's Report on Parys Controversy

LD2105202592 Warsaw PAP in English 2139 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 20—The Sejm extraordinary committee appointed to examine a statement made by Defense Minister Jan Parys on April 6 issued a final report Wednesday saying that the minister "had no grounds to formulate opinions contained in the statement."

Parys alleged that some politicians were trying to win influence over the armed forces to the detriment of the state and the Army. His criticism was aimed against Jerzy Milewski, a secretary of state in the presidential office.

By Thursday morning the report, signed by all members of the committee, is to be filed with the Sejm Presidium. According to chairman of the committee Aleksander Bentkowski, the report, together with minutes of committee hearings of Jan Parys, Jerzy Milewski and General Tadeusz Wilecki, commander of the Silesian Military District who inadvertently found himself involved in the affair, will be made public.

The committee, formed on President Lech Walesa's initiative, summoned and questioned 11 persons during 8 hearings. It published a communique on May 15 and 3 days later Minister Parys tendered his resignation which was accepted.

Sejm Recalls Parys

LD2305135692 Warsaw PAP in English 1303 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 23—The Sejm (lower house) recalled on Saturday Jan Parys from the post of Minister of National Defence, with 235 votes for, 18 against, and 58 abstentions. Before voting, Prime Minister Jan Olszewski told deputies that his motion to dismiss Parys followed the latter's resignation after he had found that the conclusions of the Sejm special committee which examined his April 6 statement subordinated the Defence Ministry to the presidential National Security Office. "Under these conditions Minister Parys concluded it was impossible for him to stay in the office," Olszewski said.

The Sejm committee ruled that Parys' public enunciations on an alleged plot between some politicians and the military to overthrow democracy in poland were "unjustified and harmful to the interests of the state."

The committee discovered no attempts to invlove the army in inter-party struggles nor any attempts to overthrow democracy in poland. According to the committee the cooperation between Minister Parys and the security office was wrong and he did not guarantee it would improve in the future.

Addressing the Sejm on Saturday, Premier Olszewski underlined he had always appreciated Parys' work. "As far as I know, Minister Parys was able to win authority and confidence of the military. I may only regret his mission ended in this way," he said.

The prime minister added the problem of Parys would hang over every successive defence minister and opined

it should be solved by a clear definition of relations between the National Security Office and the Defence Ministry.

"I violated no laws with my statement," Jan Parys declared and added his enunciation was meant as a warning after the meeting of presidential officials Jerzy Milewski and Mieczyslaw Wachowski with General Tadeusz Wilecki, whom they proposed the post of chief of staff and handed drafts of Poland's defence doctrine and plans for restructuring the army.

According to Parys, the presidential staffers tried to introduce solutions "restricting the role of government and parliament." He added the attempts to subordinate the Defence Ministry to the security office "automatically reduce the power of parliament over the Defence Minister and the army, and shift control over the Armed Forces from parliament to the office, that is a supra-constitutional body."

Pointing to far-reaching consequences of the Sejm committee's verdict, Parys described it as a political move. "It shows that Defence Minister cannot count on parliament's support when he wants to defend the autonomy of his ministry against political pressure," he stated.

Faction Leader Criticizes Center Accord Head

AU2105075292 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 11 May 92 p 2

[Interview with Andrzej Anusz, leading activist in the Center Accord Forum for Christian Democratic Thought, by Artur Siedlarek; place and date not given: "Christian Democrats' Problems in a Christian Democrat Party"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Siedlarek] Are the leaders of the PC [Center Accord], who are waging a bitter campaign against your Christian democrat faction, also Christian democrats?

[Anusz] We are all members of a Christian democrat party. We in the Forum for Christian Democratic Thought have in no way maintained that we are the only true Christian democrats....

[Siedlarek] So what is the dispute really about?

[Anusz] For some time now, Jaroslaw Kaczynski has been consistently opposed to closer political ties between the PC and the Christian-National Union. We, on the other hand, believe that a close political alliance with Christian-National Union would be advantageous for the PC.

[Siedlarek] Is that all that you differ over?

[Anusz] No, because we also think that party's statutory bodies are not operating in the best possible way. It has been the case that meetings of the Supreme Political Council have not been called for as long as 5 months, and that was at a time when, for example, lists of PC parliamentary candidates were being draw up or Kaczynski was performing his sudden political U-turns, such as the overtures toward the Democratic Union. We in our faction believe that decisions of strategic importance, such as, for example, an alliance with the Democratic Union and the liberals, should be consulted within the broadest possible forum of party members rather than be made by narrow leadership circles.

The Forum for Christian Democratic Thought is in favor of speeding up the process of making the PC a Christian democrat party....

[Siedlarek] Are Jaroslaw Kaczynski and his supporters delaying this process?

[Anusz] They might not be delaying it consciously. However, under Kaczynski's leadership, the party has been concentrating entirely on the on-going political contest, and the question of strengthening our Christian democrat identity has become of secondary important.

[Siedlarek] At a recent news conference, a sizable group of PC leaders, which included J. Kaczynski, M. Dziubek, J. Maziarski, and A. Grzeskowiak assured journalists that there was no ideological dispute going on in the party and all that there is a contest over personalities that you initiated.

[Anusz] That is a sociotechnical maneuver. If you want to discredit someone in Poland you accuse him of striving after an important post.

[Siedlarek] In connection with this dispute within the PC, it has been charged that J. Kaczynski has dictatorial ambitions....

[Anusz] I would not put it as strongly as that. However, what gives rise to such views is that a small group is making decisions that, according to the statute, broad statutory bodies are authorized to make. As result of this kind of conduct on the part of the leadership, some party members believe that they are being deprived of any influence over their party's policies. [passage omitted]

[Siedlarek] The PC will hold a congress in a few weeks time. Apparently, your faction intends to make a bid for power in the party?

[Anusz] We have been calling for a congress for a long time now in order to have certain party issues finally clarified. Above all, we want to have a provision introduced into the statute that would permit various factions to operate freely within the PC.

We will also call for the acceleration of the PC's march in a Christian democrat direction and the party's more vigorous involvement in the process of integrating the center-right.

Of course, as a faction, we will seek to ensure that we will have the strongest possible representation in the PC's governing bodies. That is surely natural.

[Siedlarek] What chance does the PC have of surviving the congress intact?

[Anusz] If the congress sees the emergence of a majority that wants to get rid of us, the there will be a split in the PC. We have stated clearly that if we obtain a majority, we will definitely not throw our adversaries out of the PC.

[Siedlarek] What will happen if your Christian democrat faction has to leave the ranks of the PC nevertheless?

[Anusz] I hope that it will not come to that. If there is a split in the party, then we will have to create some kind of new political platform. We will seek to integrate several smaller Christian democrat groupings. In this way, a united Christian democrat movement would emerge in Poland and it could later become part of a Christian democrat-peasant arrangement.

[Siedlarek] Thank you.

Center Accord Faction Holds Talks With Walesa

AU2105135392 Warsaw NOWY SWIAT in Polish 15 May 92 pp 1, 2

[Mariusz Guryn report: "The Prime Minister Turns Toward the President, Kaczynski Toward a New Coalition"]

[Text] "Lech Walesa wants to help the government solve concrete problems," said Deputy Andrzej Anusz following his Center Accord faction's talks with the president. According to the president's spokesman, the talks primarily focused on the need to regulate areas of authority within the triangle consisting of the president, parliament, and the government. It was also considered essential to speed up work on the "small constitution" to bolster the effectiveness of activities undertaken by the government and the president. The participants pointed to the need to speed up reform, especially in areas such as reprivatization, privatization, and public administration.

We learned that during meeting, which lasted over two hours, the president voiced many reservations about the Jan Olszewski government. Faction deputies pointed to the need to rescue the present cabinet, because the next cabinet that will emerge will be resolutely opposed to the president. In their opinion, disputes over powers should cease, and activities should be initiated that are in keeping with the logic of institutional solutions. If there is a clear division of authority, there should be no more disputes of the Parys affair kind, said one faction deputy.

According to Deputy Przemyslaw Hniedziewicz, attacks on the president and his office in the form that Jaroslaw Kaczynski has been making them are impermissible.

Following their visit to the Belvedere, the Center Accord faction deputies visited the prime minister, who was informed about the course of their talks with the president. According to the faction members, it is impossible to expand the coalition at the present time and only strong support from the president will enable the cabinet to continue to function.

The talks focused on the most serious problems in the country and way in which they could be solved. The president stressed that there is a need for ongoing cooperation between the president and the government, because if there is not, misunderstandings will arise that will result in the energy that is needed to implement the program of change being wasted.

Asked whether this was an attempt at mediation on their part, Deputy Anusz said that he had not received any such authority from any side. He only pointed out that it was necessary for the head of the government and the head of state to reach agreement on certain issues, and that should then produce a compromise concerning the adoption of the "small constitution."

Center Accord President Jaroslaw Kaczynski said that he was not informed about the deputies' visit to the Belvedere. "I have grounds for believing that the Belvedere is to some extent inspiring the confusion that exists within the party," said the Center Accord leader.

"We consider the failure to inform the club about the intended visit to the Belvedere a manifestation of disloyalty," said Marek Dziubek, chairman of the Center Accord Parliamentary Club. According to him, the faction arrived late for a club meeting and apart from stating that they had made the visit, they provided no other information.

At 1800, the prime minister went to the Belvedere for a meeting with Lech Walesa.

During the meeting at the Sejm, the Center Accord members of parliament critically assessed the current sociopolitical situation in the country. According to Deputy Dziubek, many club members stressed the need to take action aimed at creating a parliamentary majority.

We have learned that at the meeting, Center Accord President Jaroslaw Kaczynski is supposed to have said that "Prime Minister Jan Olszewski has discredited the entire Polish center right." Asked to comment about that, Kaczynski replied that he does not comment on statements that are made behind closed doors at parliamentary club meetings. Asked whether he endorses the statement made by Maciej Zalewski (Center Accord) to NEWSWEEK, in which he said that having Olszewski as prime minister is a misunderstanding, Kaczynski said that that was Zalewski's private opinion.

According to one of the participants in the club meeting, some members of parliament are in favor of the Center Accord leaving the coalition. According to them, the Olszewski government has lost its base of support and is politically finished. One of them even demanded that Center Accord ministers leave the government immediately. Others suggested that one should wait for an appropriate moment. That moment would be one that sees the formation of an alternative setup comprising the Democratic Union, the Liberal-Democratic Congress, the Polish Peasant Party, the Christian-National Union,

and the Center Accord. Asked to comment, Jaroslaw Kaczynski confirmed that there was such an initiative, but he added that he took issue with the idea of leaving the government. "Poland needs a different government, one that will have substantial parliamentary support," said Kaczynski. He denied that talks were being held with the aforementioned parties, but added that such a political setup would be advantageous.

Government Discusses Reform of Defense Ministry

AU2105085592 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 14 May 92 p 1

['R.Ch' report: "Defense Industry Holds Its Breath"]

[Text] As a result of the dwindling demand for weapons and military equipment, only 30 percent of the defense industry's capacity was used last year, according to the Central Planning Office. Even less capacity will be used this year because of reduced orders by the Polish Army and the disappearance of Warsaw Pact markets.

A major problem for the defense industry is financial bottlenecks whereby enterprises owe each other money, as well as owing money to banks and the budget, and are unable to pay it. Out of overall debts, over 50 percent were owed to banks, 30 percent to industrial partners, and 16 percent to he budget. Over half of defense enterprises have lost their credit rating, the first step toward bankruptcy. The problem is that many of these are of major importance for the defense of the country and the functioning of the Armed Forces.

An important matter is to single out those enterprises that must be salvaged at all costs, convert them into one-man state treasury companies, and work out a plan of business and rule for financing them. A second group of enterprises could be turned into limited liability companies with some of the shares held by the state treasury. The third and final group could be sold off to private buyers without restriction.

As usual, the problem is money. Restructuring costs money, which the state budget does not have. So who will finance these undertakings, how large is production capacity to be during war time, under what principles should tenders for the production and implementation of development programs be offered, and who may participate in them?

These and other matters were discussed by the Council of Ministers Socioeconomic Committee at a closed meeting Wednesday [14 May]. We found out from unofficial sources that proposals to restructure the defense industry have already been made. They have to be approved by the government.

Sejm Media Body Considers TV's Objectivity

AU2105103892 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 14 May 92 p 1

['ast' report: "Deputies' Judgment on Television—Information or Manipulation?"]

[Text] Who steers television information policy? Is it the chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, the chairman of the Television Information Agency, the president, or the government? This question, asked by a deputy during Wednesday's [13 May] meeting of the Sejm Culture and Mass Media Commission, was never answered properly. During the long talks, problems of information policy were pushed aside by personnel conflicts inside television.

Janusz Zaorski, chairman of the Radio and Television Committee, opened the meeting. "The Olszewski Government attaches major importance to information policy," he said. "The Committee is doing its best to keep television objective and comprehensive, but television is not situated in a vacuum. It has to cope not only with the aspirations of the political elites, but also with the habits of its own reporters, some of whom are sensation-seekers, copying the gutter press. Responsibility for what they say and write and professional ability are the criteria whereby we wish to judge television employees, but right now television is in a transitional stage which makes it difficult to enforce these standards. Polish Television must undergo a thorough reform, which will lead to a producer system, and thus to the emergence of new working methods. However, the adoption of a new broadcasting law is a precondition for this reform."

Replying to Zaorski's speech, Deputy Braun (Democratic Union) accused television of a lack of pluralism concerning information. "The centralized structure of the Television Information Agency is destroying this pluralism," he said. "Journalists working in the Agency feel threatened. The specter of dismissal hangs over them, destroying their motivation. The Television Information Agency is an example of terror and incompetence, and evidence that Polish Television is not defending itself against government pressure."

A speech by Deputy Siwiec [Alliance of the Democratic Left] was far more critical. "The limits of decency have been exceeded in information policy, which gives preference to the government's views. The same goes for cadres policy," he said.

The deputies referred quite frequently to the personnel and cadre conflicts inside Polish Television. They mentioned the "Letters About the Economy" and Andrzej Bober, the discontinuation of the "Events of the Week" program, the Olga Lipinska cabaret, the "Express Dimanche" program, and so on.

However, not all the speeches were in such a critical tone. There were some words of praise on the subject of

the Radio and Television Committee's moves. "I do not think television today is worse or under greater control than three or four years ago, "said Jacek Maziarski (Center Accord). "In fact I can detect greater pluralism in it ever since it stopped being a mouthpiece of the Democratic Union."

Said Deputy Czarnecki (Christian-National Union): "Television was under control during martial law, but the deputies now belonging to the Polish Peasant Party and Alliance of the Democratic Left never complained. I must say that the Alliance deputies' anger about a supposed absence of political pluralism has been very well acted."

Deputy Malachowski (Solidarity of Labor) rejected claims about a low quality of programs offered by Polish Television. "Polish Television is not as bad as some people make it out to be," he said. "All one has to do is compare Polish Television with Western stations like RTL Plus."

The talks were concluded by Janusz Zaorski, who related to most of the accusations. "I would like Polish Television to remain neutral in political and social disputes," he said. "I am not a censor. Any suggestions to that effect are merely an echo of the old conspiracy theory. I am able to refute such suggestions by means of facts. For example opinion polls indicate that the credibility of Polish Television has very much risen. Our role is to convey the essence of the reality. This must be done by young, trustworthy people. We are trying to recruit such people, and that is the reason for most of our personnel moves. There is nothing political about that."

Interior Ministry Ready To Screen Officials

LD2105034192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0900 GMT 20 May 92

[Text] Interior Minister Antoni Macierewicz today said that work on the preparation of documents concerning the verification of the executive, legislature, and judiciary, with regard to the cooperation by some of their representatives with the former security service, has been completed. The Ministry is ready to act if the Sejm takes a decision to appoint an extraordinary commission on this matter. We propose, Minister Macierewicz said, that those people who once worked with the security services should themselves withdraw from the high state posts they hold.

Unemployment Increases Slightly in April

LD2005151692 Warsaw PAP in English 1726 GMT 19 May 92

[Text] Warsaw, May 19—The main statistical office (GUS) announced that in April the number of unemployed reached 2,218,400 (up 2,100 on the March total). This amounts to 12.2 percent of the working population.

However, in 24 provinces the number of unemployed actually fell.

Of the unemployed, 27.4 percent have no right to claim benefit.

Over 3,000 enterprises gave notice of 158,400 redundancies in the near future.

In April 59,800 people started in new jobs, and the employment offices had 27,700 jobs on offer. The labour fund financed 21,300 job placements while the number of job trainees was 2,600.

Nastase Favors 'Peaceful' Approach to Moldova

AU2505155992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Mr. Adrian Nastase, minister of foreign affairs of Romania, returned to Bucharest from his two-day visit to Lisbon, where he participated in the second conference on international assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States countries. On his arrival at Otopeni Airport, Mr. Adrian Nastase made the following statement:

[Begin Nastase recording] The Lisbon conference expressed concern over the danger that socioeconomic destabilization in the former Soviet Union might pose for the European and world security. In this respect, the conference tried to find and identify certain targets and modalities for aid, so as to prevent the situation there from getting out of control.

The 65 participating foreign ministers and ambassadors also had the opportunity to examine other concrete problems, including such hot issues as the situation in Yugoslavia. However, I believe that, a positive thing and important result—aside from the natural talks held behind the scenes, which probably were as meaningful as the conference proper—was the meeting of the four foreign ministers of Moldova, Romania, Russia, and Ukraine on the situation on Moldova's left bank of the Dniester River. The statement adopted after the talks, where each side presented its point of view on this pretty serious issue, points out possible action guidelines and some priorities.

However, I believe one should particularly emphasize the inherent risks of the attitude of certain delegations that choose to march to different tunes, as the situation warrants it. This bothered us quite a lot, and I clearly stressed the need for each participating government to implement the decisions agreed upon. Otherwise, if one uses double standards when it comes to implementing our decisions, these well-meant meetings—which are quite constructive at the level of our talks—would lose all meaning. Anyhow, my feeling was that the Russian Foreign Ministry at least wants to maintain political control over the situation. Their message was quite clear to me. What is important is that they should try to convey this message to other power centers in Moscow, too.

First, I believe one should clarify the nuances of the issue. I believe it is absolutely necessary for the 14th Army, which, to a certain extent, has become the third party to this conflict, should immediately withdraw to its barracks and units, so as to enable the continuation of the political process. Therefore, I think one should further strive to resist the temptation to resort to force and violence, particularly when one looks at what is happening in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Nagorno-Karabakh. In my opinion, if a similar process were to start [in Moldova], it might have absolutely uncontrollable consequences, including for the vital centers of society. Therefore, I believe we should exclusively choose this path. Indeed, we should be very firm when we come to the conclusion that certain commitments are not being observed; however, it is my belief that the international community is on our side. I felt this in Lisbon quite clearly. Likewise, the United States supports the responsible way in which we are approaching the conflict in Moldova, which we strive to solve in a peaceful way. [end recording]

Rally Protests 14th Army Role in Moldova

AU2305183092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1712 GMT 23 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/5/1992—As we have announced, on Friday, 22 May, a rally was called by the National Anticommunist Association for Truth and Justice [ANADA] in Bucharest's Revolution Square. Speakers to the rally firmly protested against the latest developments in the Dniester region, which threaten the integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Moldova and urged the President, the Parliament, and the Government of Romania to appeal forthrightly to international fora.

A proclamation was adopted by participants which says that "by virtue of our ancestral rights, we seek respect for the Romanian people and its inalienable rights to live in dignity and civilization within the borders bequeathed by its ancestors."

The spirit of the 1989 revolution demands the firm condemnation of the intervention of the ex-USSR's 14th Army in the Romanian territory across the Prut, which is a gross violation of the Romanian people's sovereignty; and an immediate halt of criminal repressive and intimidation actions against the civilian population. "We ask the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation and its president that an end be put to military aggression in Romanian territory and the army withdraw to the barracks," the proclamation says.

Participants in the rally handed the Russian ambassador to Bucharest a protest stating their indignation at the 14th Army's direct intervention against the Republic of Moldova, which brought "an intolerable situation," urging "an immediate halt of the criminal repressive actions that pursue to intimidate the civilian population and break up the Republic of Moldova. The Russian government, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, and President Boris Yeltsin are urged to take prompt measures and end the aggression on the Republic of Moldova that could degenerate into a more serious conflict, with unpredictable effects on both sides."

Stolojan Opposes Postponement of Elections

AU2305123592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1537 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 22/5/1992—In no way can the government assume the responsibility of postponing

general elections" states Premier Theodor Stolojan in an interview with "LIBERTATEA" specifying that to have elections in June "we must shorten the election campaign and contestation time." "If this is what is wanted then the political will must be clearly expressed," the premier also said in connection with the alternative of postponing the elections, an hypothesis he said he did not agree with. Asked what strategy he would adopt were general elections to be postponed for the fall, the Romanian premier showed that "a meeting with the leaders of the political parties should be held first" so that "they could say very clearly what they want to do." "At the same time we must clearly outline the election calendar," the premier further said. Theodor Stolojan said he already took measures, "which he would have had to take anyway," "to ensure the continuity of the activity either of a new government or of a reshuffled government that will have to go on through summer. The premier said he had already set "a number of goals to be developed over the ensuing period."

Setting forth the reasons for which he does not intend to get involved in politics in the perspective of elections, Premier Theodor Stolojan said that in his opinion "people must be changed" as "the road is long and difficult." "An end must be put to this myth that we are in a difficult situation because of someone and that if it were not for Mr. X it would be different," the Romanian premier stressed.

Asked about the possibility of a restauration [of monarchy] in the wake of the elections Premier Stolojan stated: "I do not think this is possible. Because I think no one actually wants it. But confusion can generate a lot of fuss. But I do not think a restauration is wanted."

UDMR Satisfied With Tirgu Mures Elections

AU2605100592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0826 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/5/1992—The leaders of the Tirgu Mures branch of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania (UDMR) expressed at a news conference satisfaction at the peaceful atmosphere and democratic manner in which the May 24 election for the office of mayor of the town proceeded considering it as a first step towards the establishment of democracy in Tirgu Mures.

"Once the mayor is installed and the town council set up", Laszlo Borbely, chairman of the UDMR branch, stated, "conditions will be put in place for an opening to all political forces, the National Union Party included, for a cooperation without which the order of law in a state of law cannot be established."

Answering journalists' questions the newly elected mayor Victor Nagy stated his intention to rally all the inhabitants of the town in a common front of friendly coexistence, as the foundation stone of the new life democracy requires and facilitates. "I will be a mayor of the town, of its inhabitants and not of ethnic populations," he said.

Government Spokesman Holds Weekly News Conference

AU2205162892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1426 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/5/1992—Opening the news conference of Friday 22 May, government spokesman Iolanda Staniloiu announced that an account No. 451109224 Bucharest-Chisinau had been opened by the Interministerial Committee for Relations With the Republic of Moldova, with savings banks where money can be put in aid to buy medicines and emergency medical equipment for the persons affected by the conflict on the left bank of the Dniester. The first grant was made by Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan.

Today's news conference was attended by the government's special representative for the employers-unions relations Mihu Miron Biji. Speaking on his recent meeting with teachers' union leaders, he showed that on the prime minister's proposal, a joint analysis committee had been formed including unions representatives to clarify the existing situation so that, by Monday 25 May at the latest, specific data could be supplied as a basis for a settlement. The government's special representative said that the delayed conclusion of the collective labour deals was one source of instability. Until now just 35 per cent of them have been made across the country.

The elections and the executive's position that they should be held before Parliament's summer recess, and pensions rises due next month were also taken up.

Iliescu's Actions in Past Two Years Criticized

Part One

AU2405162792 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 19 May 92 p 3

[Part one of Viorel Teodor and Daniel Teodor article: "The Voter Who Thinks—Do You Recognize Yourself, Mr. Iliescu?"]

[Text] Herewith we are publishing the arguments that two professors, that is two of the millions of voters, whose hopes were betrayed after the 20 May 1990 elections, view as important enough to justify a change in attitude toward President Iliescu. They are more than just a point of view, they are the expression of the feelings of the many and the oppressed after two years of suffering and concern. This chain of arguments, voiced with common sense and lucidity, sounds like public verdicts to us.

At the political level: You have imposed the form of republic—installed by force by the soviets—without consulting the people first. You continue to deny an

obvious fact, namely that legally Romania is a kingdom and that Mihai is legally Romania's king.

You have concluded a shameful and humiliating treaty with the USSR, thus proving lack of concern for Romania's interests and subservience to the Soviets. After December 1989 you did not pose the problem of Bessarabia, at a time when there was still someone from whom to claim it, thus once again betraying the interests of the Romanian people and becoming an accomplice to today's monstrous situation in that area.

You reversed the decision on the illegal status of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] justifying this illogical move by the problem of a Communist Party in general. In actual fact, you are still a member of the RCP, because legally the RCP has not been dissolved, and you have never applied to withdraw from this party, while the party itself never excluded you from its ranks.

You have imposed an antinational and antidemocratic Constitution voted for by less than 50 percent of the population eligible to vote, thus contributing decisively and deliberately to the nonobservance of the principle of separating powers in the state. Principles in the Constitution have to be stipulated explicitly and deliberately. They cannot be—as you believe—an implicit or implied result, because, in such a case, they would be anything but principles. You are confusing—whether intentionally or not—state power with authority. In our country, for instance, justice is a power body, because there is a long stretch before becoming authority.

You have turned television into a personal political instrument to serve your own propaganda, the purpose of telling outrageous lies to the people, slandering national values, promoting nonentities (Emanuel Valeriu, Silviu Brucan, and so forth), interethnic and intersocial strife, and unloyal political propaganda for the benefit of an anti-Romanian leadership.

You have constantly and assiduously tried to shed an unfavorable light on Mr. Coposu [president of National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] through lies and dishonest moves, and through ridiculous and foolish accusations by always displaying an unprincipled, hostile, and uncivilized attitude toward him. It is obvious that he has been and continues to be the most important, most consistent, most principled, and most lucid representative of the opposition. How can you take such a stance toward such a man?

You have vehemently rejected Point 8 of the Timisoara Declaration that enabled the Parliament, the Army, the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Trade, and so forth, and the former activists, Securitate people, and nomenklatura to project themselves at the helm of the country.

At the legal level: You abolished the death sentence before the beginning of certain trials at which certain communist criminals, thieves, and traitors of the country were to be tried. What principle entitles you to amend laws before certain trials take place? Whom did you want to favor? After all, we try them on the basis of the law they themselves have issued! You played a decisive role in launching invented and potentially refutable trials thus facilitating the nontrial of the criminal charges against former communist leaders and the crimes committed by the former nomenklatura and their antinational position. You have never taken any measures to reject antinational or antidemocratic laws, or those leading to the obvious degradation of the economy, culture, science, education, people's health, agriculture, trade union movement, and so forth.

At the social level: You have essentially contributed to the division of our society into rival groups that had violent conflicts, thus systematically destroying the human monolith created spontaneously in the wake of 22 December 1989.

You continued to tolerate the payment of very high pensions to former communist leaders and certain individuals belonging to the privileged strata of the former regime.

You have organized and favored actions such as the ones that happened during the miners' incursion in Bucharest, actions that are impossible to qualify because of their monstrosity and negative effect on Romania's domestic and international situation.

Through your position, you have enabled former activists and Securitate people to become store owners, employers, bankers, and directors, thus turning them from oppressors into an economic-financial force. Where did they get the money, Mr. Iliescu?

Part Two

AU2405180092 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 May 92 p 3

[Second and last part of Viorel Teodor and Daniel Teodor article: "The Voter Who Thinks—Do You Recognize Yourself, Mr. Iliescu?"]

[Text] **At the moral level**: As a man who has done his studies with the Soviets (we have nothing against the Russian culture and people, but the Soviets are another matter), it would have been normal and moral to refrain from getting to the helm of our country.

You have accused and insulted the University Square—were you really misinformed?—although some of the most pure, capable, courageous, and most patriotic Romanians had gathered there.

Over a period of seven days, you did not find time—as you said—to have a talk with the Democratic Action Committee of the Army representatives, sending Voican Voiculescu instead, this "stupefied" individual who, through his mere presence, insulted honest people, Romanian officers, thus exasperating a whole country with his stupidities and ill-faith.

At the Alba Iulia rally [marking Romania's new national day—1 December] you agreed with Roman to create an unpleasant atmosphere for Mr. Corneliu Coposu. A whole country was able to watch you radiant with happiness and secretly shaking hands with Petre Roman.

During King Mihai's first visit to Romania you displayed an unqualifiable attitude that did not change later.

You are carrying out your activity in a palace against whose walls you have speedily hung up the sign "military site." What is the meaning of this sign? Have you checked the dictionary to see what is meant by "military site?" Have you opened another tiny door for the access of those who requested an audience? Were you ever curious to see how these troubled people are waiting in front of that humiliating door leaning against the walls or sitting on the floor? Is it so difficult to organize a waiting room for those people whom you claim to love?

You have never admitted the despicable, inhumane, and antinational actions during the time when you were Union of Workers Youth chairman, propaganda chief, and party first secretary in Iasi. At that time, the Securitate was under the jurisdiction of the first secretary of the county Romanian Communist Party.

You are practicing a dishonest electoral campaign—by making use of your position of president—through "working visits" that have increased substantially of late. Is it ethical to spend the nation's money on the electoral campaign? Has your concern for the Romanian people broken out suddenly precisely at this time? You should travel to Brasov, for instance, to learn that a jar of jam costs 180 lei. Have you read the letter your former Romanian language teacher at Spiru Haret School pubished in the press almost two years ago?

If you are a free-thinking individual—thus you do not believe in God, which is your right—then why do you participate in religious services, make the sign of the cross, hold a candle in your hand, and so forth?

At the economic level: You have contributed directly or from behind the scenes to the ruin of the Romanian economy. You appointed an incompetent prime minister and tolerated a government that harmed our economy because of its lack of financial-economic knowledge and the unrealistic and inefficient orientation it imprinted on the so-called reform. The results are obvious.

You accepted the privatization of trade before the privatization of the production process, something that led to the absence of vital products in the market.

You have decisively contributed to the issuance of an unrealistic land law that deals a blow to the farmers, agriculture, and consequently to Romania's economy.

You have not contributed anything positive to giving an impetus to the domestic human and material potential in order to activate the national economy and, through your presence at the helm of the country, you prevent any assistance from abroad.

We will probably be able to make it with what we have in our country, but for this the Romanians have to have faith in their leader, to honor and love him. At this point, do you still believe that you are such a man?

Foreign Minister Silajdzic Addresses UN Assembly

LD2305083192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 22 May 92

[Address by Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic to the United Nations General Assembly in New York on 22 May—live, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation]

[Text] Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, honorable members of the General Assembly: The late Dag Hammarskjold led the United Nations. He said the journey through this organization was really the journey toward the inside, toward the man who chose his own fate. We have chosen our own independence. We are honored that the United Nations is recognizing us as a member.

While we are free of oppression, we are not free of aggression. We are struggling for our own lives. A human tragedy of catastrophic proportions is threatening to erupt in my country if urgent measures are not immediately taken to stem the reign of terror in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Considering the calamity of events in my country, I urge the Security Council to invoke Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter, especially Article 6, to end this senseless violation of basic human rights.

There is an immediate humanitarian need for food and medicines. This must be met by the civilized world in order to allow our people to survive.

The legitimate Government of Bosnia-Hercegovina observes all the standards adopted by the United Nations, the EC and the CSCE. We have lived by the rules of the civilized world. Now, we need, as we have already received, the strong moral support of the international community. United Nations relief agencies have been active in our country, but the fighting continues. Stronger action is needed. It is needed immediately, before more lives are lost and before our nation is totally destroyed. We call on this body to come to our aid in this hour of our greatest need.

If the aggression in Bosnia-Hercegovina is not stopped, then the peace and security in the entire region will be threatened.

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary General, members of the General Assembly, for over 1,000 years of our history as a political entity Bosnia-Hercegovina has been constantly faced with wars. In the Middle Ages, we were a strong kingdom. Later, we were a province, a separate body, and we were a sovereign state within the Yugoslav federation. But we have always been a multicultural, multi-ethnic and multireligious society. We had hoped that this history had prepared us for the age and period of ever greater interdependence in the world. Instead of this, we are afflicted with a nationalism, the aggressiveness of which has incited a war.

Bosnia is now one big bleeding wound. These are trying times. Many young eyes no longer see light. Many old faces will grow even more lined with sadness and misery. Our cultural heritage, which belongs to the world, faces indiscriminate destruction and cultural genocide.

Yet the people of Bosnia must look beyond this tragedy to the future and to bridges of tolerance, for which the people of Bosnia have always had a special talent. We must know that this is not a war between nations. No nation could approve the massacre, deportation and starvation of another nation. It is a political fact that governments do not reflect the will of their nations, nor are people universally responsible for the acts of those who head their regimes. The bridges of which I speak are built in this august, honorable house, in this honorable institution, in this assembly of the nations of the world. Their commitment to live together in a civilized manner will also be our orientation. The people of Bosnia-Hercegovina will always be in the vanguard of this heroic effort.

Thank you, Mr. President.

Izetbegovic Issues Statement on UN Admission

AU2205190092 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 22 May 92

[Statement by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the Presidency building in Sarajevo—live]

[Text] It is unusual to (?speak) two days in a row, but acceptance into the United Nations is not an everyday occasion. I cannot miss this opportunity to congratulate the citizens of Bosnia-Hercegovina and our Republic that has been admitted into this great, eminent club of nations today.

Of course, this is not a time for celebration. This is the time to stand as one in the defense of the Republic and democracy, democratic and [word indistinct] institutions. As you can see, in this respect, we have the support of the international community. You heard the applause in the hall of the United Nations. This is great support and great recognition of this [word indistinct] country.

I would like to address our citizens again, but under more favorable circumstances and to convey better news. Thank you.

Koljevic Assesses CSCE Discussion, Accusations

AU2005205892 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 20 May 92

[Interview with Nikola Koljevic, member of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by announcer Aleksandar Ljubicic—live]

[Text] [Ljubicic] Dr. Koljevic, welcome. You returned from Helsinki last night from where, as you heard, our colleague Tatjana Lenard reported on today's CSCE session. Can you comment on this?

[Koljevic] In brief, this was a tumultuous series of accusations against the new Yugoslavia, accusations that were essentially against the Yugoslav People's Army and the authorities in Serbia. In my speech, that is to say, in my statement, I tried, I will not repeat it all, to warn the participants in (?12 points) about what the international community will find very difficult to defend. Namely, I asked the following question: Why is the entire discussion on the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina directed so much at passing a verdict on the new Yugoslavia? Why is the responsibility of others, particularly that of the Croats, deliberately lessened, and why is it continually ignored? The entire world knows why. The CSCE will not be able to hide the fact that Bosnia-Hercegovina is only the means for achieving the ultimate political goal, namely to accuse and slander Serbia and the Serbian people as a group.

This was my basic impression. As the discussion proceeded, little was said about Bosnia and much more about Kosovo and other parts of Serbia. The elections were almost the most frequent topic. You saw that the serious decision on the punishment, so to speak, has been postponed, and I think that it is now very important that we prove everything concerning the humanitarian aid and other accusations, that we prove that they are not justified, and where they are perhaps justified, to remove them. Regarding the political situation and the elections, I think that after all this it would be important if all political sides, I do not want to say parties, understand that we are talking about the survival of the Serbian people and to behave prudently and, if I may say, patriotically. Such behavior has, unfortunately, been absent so far.

[Ljubicic] Dr. Koljevic, political talks on the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina were supposed to be held in Lisbon today. Alija Izetbegovic stated last night that he will not be traveling to Lisbon. You are here tonight. Will this conference continue?

[Koljevic] This conference is assuming an increasingly dramatic course, especially with regard as to whether it will continue or not. As far as we are concerned, it will. Mr. Cutilheiro [chairman of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina] informed us today that regardless of the fact that Mr. Izetbegovic had refused, tried to postpone the talks, the conference will be held tomorrow. We are traveling tomorrow.

It is also interesting that in Helsinki Mr. Izetbegovic was accused for the first time by the Croatian side, the representative of the Republic of Croatia, of postponing this conference. We can see that Europe is beginning to understand this now, and I think....

[Ljubicic, interrupting] For the second time, if I am not mistaken.

[Koljevic] For the second time, and finally what he said about being in favor of combat actions, of being in favor of fighting and not peace, is now being shown in practice with this postponement of the conference. It will finally be seen who in Bosnia-Hercegovina is in favor of peace and who is in favor of war.

[Ljubicic] Thank you, Mr. Koljevic, for being a guest on the Second News Program of Serbian Radio and Television.

Serbian Delegation Outlines Lisbon Expectations

AU2105194692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 21 May 92

[Interview with Radovan Kradzic, president of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; Nikola Koljevic, member of the Presidency of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina; and Aleksa Buha, foreign minister in the Government of the Serbian Republic of Bosanska Krajina; by Cedo Filipovic in Belgrade on 21 May—recorded]

[Text] [Karadic] We expect that Europe will fulfill its duty toward Bosnia-Hercegovina, as Europe's recognition was premature and extended on the condition that Bosnia-Hercegovina be transformed into a state formation consisting of three constituent states. Unfortunately, the Muslim side is undermining this agreement, but Europe cannot and does not have a right to pull out, as Europe's responsibility is great.

[Koljevic] We are pleased that Europe also realized that the conference is the measure with the greatest potential for peace. Had we stayed in Lisbon the last time, Sarajevo would not experience what it had experienced. Unfortunately, on the last occasion it was President Izetbegovic who allegedly had other more pressing engagements in Sarajevo. We hope that on this occasion we will spare Sarajevo from further destruction and further murder through negotiations in Lisbon.

[Buha] I believe that this will be a milestone session and that the agreements reached so far will be brought to their final stage. It has been demonstrated that it is not enough to simply, if I can say so, impose independence upon someone, but numerous things must be done prior to this. For the time being, we must go back to the beginning in some aspects and Europe will have to behave in the same way. I believe that the moment has came and I believe that Europe has realized it. The mistakes must be pointed out and now is the time to go forward to stop this common misfortune of ours. I believe that we are on the best path.

Djeric on 'Drawing Lines' Between Communities

LD2205124392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1123 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—"The resolution of the crisis in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina above all lies in drawing lines between the national communities—in the economic, territorial,

political, spiritual and other senses," Prime Minister of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina Dr. Branko Djeric said.

"The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina can be expected to calm down when all political factors realize that the only real solution is the peaceful resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina" Djeric said in an interview carried by the Belgrade weekly NIN on Friday [22 May].

Serbs proclaimed the independence of their Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on April 7 on the territory where they make up the majority population, since they oppose the secessionist policy of the Moslem-Croatian coalition in the republican leadership. This is why they walked out of all the republican offices.

Bosnia-Hercegovina was recognized by the European Community on April 7 and its Moslem forces and the armed formations of the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia began fighting the Yugoslav Army and the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

"A peaceful solution does not suit" Alija Izetbegovic, who heads the rump Moslem-Croatian republican presidency, "because he would then be able to count only on his (Moslem) constituent unit, which would objectively be much smaller than he envisages," Djeric assessed.

"Any demarcation, ie, drawing borders of the Moslem constituent unit would be an obstacle to the spreading of Islam," Djeric explained. "Izetbegovic committed himself to spreading Islam and has to that aim been aided by certain, above all Islamic countries, like Iran and Libya, which are renowned for their terrorism."

Izetbegovic also heads the ruling Moslem Party of Democratic Action (SDA).

Djeric said that the authorities of the Serbian republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina would "request the republic's recognition at the right time."

The conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, brokered by the European Community, has been discussing the future order of the former Yugoslav republic. The conference resumed in Lisbon on Thursday [21 May].

The European Community proposed that Bosnia-Hercegovina be made up of three national constituent units—Moslem, Serb and Croatian.

Moslems make up around 44, Serbs 32 and Croats 17 percent of Bosnia-Hercegovina's population.

New Leaders Named for Croatian Organizations

LD2405114392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 May (TANJUG)—Dr. Davor Perinovic, chairman of Paraga's Croatian Party of Right [HSP] for Bosnia-Hercegovina, has been dismissed from all party positions says an HSP statement published today in all daily papers in Sarajevo.

According to the statement, the reasons for the dismissal are in the latest war-related events in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Dr. Davorin Perinovic, a dentist in Sarajevo, was the founder and first chairman of the Croatian Democratic Community for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Merim Galijatovic was appointed commander of the general staff of the Sarajevo Croatian Defense Council, which has just been formed, according to the statement. Ante Jerkovic and Zvonimir Jan were appointed heads of the Sarajevo Croatian Defense Council.

It has also been announced that the Armed Forces of the Croatian Party of Right in Sarajevo will put themselves under the control of the state territorial defense.

Territorial Defense Commander Replaced

AU2405150392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 May 92

[Risto Djogo report from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] It is relatively calm in Sarajevo today. There is only some sporadic shooting. Last night, however, was marked by fighting. We have been told by the Nedjarici Crisis Headquarters that an attack by Muslim forces from the direction of the OSLOBODJENJE building was repelled this morning. There were no casualties on the side of the Serbian territorials. The situation at the moment is rather calm. [passage omitted]

We have been told by the Vogosca Crisis Headquarters that fierce fighting was waged last night in the town of Vogosca and a part of the Pretis Factory. Green Berets acted from the direction of Kobilja Glava toward the center of the town and the Blagovac settlement. There were no casualties among the Vogosca defenders. [passage omitted]

The rump presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina last night replaced Hasan Efendic, commander of the Territorial Defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and in his place appointed (?Zehrudin) Halilovic, alias Halil, from Prijepolje.

Sarajevo Barracks Evacuation Begins

AU2405163792 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 24 May 92

[Irfan Calo report from the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Just now we are receiving another announcement: The Viktor Bubanj barracks (?are being evacuated). Citizens and all Territorial Defense units are being asked to enable unhampered evacuation. I repeat this very important announcement: The Viktor Bubanj barracks are being evacuated at this moment. Citizens and all Territorial Defense units are being asked to enable unhampered evacuation. [passage omitted]

On 21 and 22 May 1992, three officers of the former Yugoslav People's Army, that is, staff officers of the Colonel Milisav Gagovic, whose identity will not be revealed for security reasons, came to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to their statements, on 21 May of this year, Momcilo Mandic, a self-proclaimed justice minister, otherwise a person against whom several charges have been filed for larceny and [words indistinct], came running to Gagovic's staff.

Mandic landed in Bosnia after having transferred abroad large amounts of stolen money. The reason for his [word indistinct] was the arrival in Sarajevo of Major General [name indistinct] Boskovic of the Federal Secretariat of National Defense who [word indistinct] Mandic's agreement with General Ratko Mladic that there be no more negotiations with the Bosnia-Hercegovina authorities.

Ratko Mladic and Momcilo Mandic, who are, by the way, former relatives and neighbors from (?Kalinovik), have agreed to prevent Gen. Boskovic's mission to implement the agreement on the departure of the former Yugoslav People's Army from the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina. If the (?cadets) are allowed to leave the barracks, they are to be captured in Romanija. Mandic has physically threatened the officers present, saying that he will personally capture and kill them and Gen. Boskovic if the barracks are evacuated and the captive children's convoy in Ilidza is freed, and, if necessary, kill all UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] members in the so-called Serbian republics.

General Mladic has several times pressured the commander of the Viktor Bubanj barracks, ordering him, I quote, that General Boskovic must not be allowed on the territory of the barracks, and all officers who fail to (?obey) this order will pay with their heads, end quote. The same evening Mladic ordered antiaircraft machinegun fire on Gen. Boskovic's armored carrier. With [word indistinct] measures the physical threats against Gen. Boskovic on 23 May was prevented and [words indistinct] group for liquidation headed by Gen. Mladic personally. [passage omitted]

Mate Boban on Talks With Karadzic in Graz

92BA0904A Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 May p 6

[Interview with Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Society of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Ivan Sabic; place and date not given: "We Have No Illusions, but We Must Negotiate"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Society of Bosnia-Hercegovina, on a conversation with Radovan Karadzic in Graz. First of all, this is not a final agreement at all. Moreover, it is no longer in effect, after the behavior of Serbian forces on the battlefields and the bombardment of western Hercegovina. The talks in Graz are only one of a series of bilateral talks for achieving a goal.

GRUDE—An agreement between Mate Boban and Radovan Karadzic on a cease-fire and principles on the basis of which the designation of borders between Croatian and Serbian national areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina has led to various comments, primarily unofficial ones for now. There are a number of those who are prepared to claim that this is really a failed move, at least as far as the Croatian side is concerned. Especially since Serbian forces, despite the agreement, have attacked all positions of Croatian defenders in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the Serbian air force has poured bombs and missiles down on all of western Hercegovina.

We asked Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Society of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council, if he agreed with such opinions.

[Boban] For the purpose of establishing peace, even if our opponents are hardened criminals, no meeting and attempt to establish a cease-fire can be considered a failed move. There were so many examples of achieving and violating agreements on truces in the Republic of Croatia that we haven't even been able to have any grand illusions that it will be different this time.

[Sabic] Where did the idea for the meeting in Graz come from and what was its goal?

[Boban] At the international conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina in Brussels, EC representatives proposed bilateral talks among representatives of the three nationalities of Bosnia-Hercegovina. These talks were to be scheduled through overtures everywhere that two sides touched in any way. Let's assume that the problems in Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot be resolved without the direct participation of the EC, and this means that it is necessary to follow the directions given by the EC to participants in talks on resolving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will talk with representatives of the Muslim nationality, with whom we have not had any misunderstandings for the most part up to now.

[Sabic] It is known that the so-called Yugoslav Army is dictating the tempo in clashes in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Is there then sense in talking about a truce with Radovan Karadzic when that armed force is not under his command?

[Boban] Events have shown that the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] is directing all Serbian-Montenegrin units in Bosnia-Hercegovina quite well, so in this regard there shouldn't be any problems. And even if this weren't so, it would be necessary to talk with SDS leaders, because they are directly interested in the development of the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Sabic] It is always thought that there is no resolution of the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina without the agreement

of all three nationalities. Is this rule not incorporated into the agreement in Graz?

[Boban] First of all, this is not a final agreement at all. Moreover, it is no longer in effect, after the behavior of Serbian forces on the battlefields and the bombardment of western Hercegovina. The talks in Graz are just one in a series of bilateral talks aimed at achieving a goal. I believe that a bilateral agreement among all three sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina is necessary, and that, after this, representatives of all three nationalities, under the wing of the EC, should agree on the future structure of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Sabic] In the document published after the talks in Graz, the borders of the former Regional Unit of Croatia are mentioned. Does this mean that the final goal of Croatian policy in Bosnia-Hercegovina is the creation of a Croatian state within those borders?

[Boban] The fact is that the amount of territory from which the Croatian people went to war in 1941 minimally belongs to them. But, this does not mean that we will limit ourselves only to that territory. We must achieve the kind of agreement on the future structure of Bosnia-Hercegovina that will guarantee sovereignty for all peoples on the whole area of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Disagreements on Status of Troops, Installations

92BA0913B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 3

[Article by Z. Vukovic: "Disagreements on Status of Troops and Installations in Bosnia-Hercegovina: Soldiers, Prisoners in Barracks"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] No one in B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] knows who the negotiators for the army's side are right now. Nearly 85 percent of the troops of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] are remaining in B-H, and it could be hard for any agreement to alter this fact. Without a political solution, there will be no change in the balance of opposing sides in the military domain.

Sarajevo—Following the replacement of Gen. Milutin Kukanjac, the commander of the Second Army District, and the retirement of Gen. Aksentijevic, the uncertainty and disagreement about the status of troops and installations in B-H is reaching the level of chaos. Even yesterday, no one in official political circles knew—or perhaps was only unwilling to say—who the spokesmen or negotiators for the army side are.

At the "Marshal Tito" and "Viktor Dubanj" barracks in Sarajevo, panic appears to be prevailing. Yesterday as well, gunshots were heard there, which is proof of the allegation that some officers are not permitting soldiers to leave these installations, which will no doubt be destroyed if they are attacked by units of the B-H TO [Territorial Defense Force]. The situation for the soldiers at those barracks is hopeless. If they stay there, then it will be hard for them to withdraw, but there is no firm agreement on a peaceful pullout. Who is sacrificing these army captives, and in whose name, because neither the JNA nor the Second Army District exist any more?

Unexpectedly, Fikret Abdic announced yesterday that an agreement on evacuation of the Sarajevo barracks, as well as those in Konjic, Travnik, and Zenica, has been achieved. He did not disclose who signed on behalf of the Army, but he did reveal that the controversial question of the weaponry at these installations has been settled. Because these are weapons previously taken from the B-H TO and moved to the barracks, they will be returned to the old owners. Similar agreements have been signed on several occasions recently, but have never been implemented. Hence the pessimism and doubt. Nevertheless, hope that such a peaceful epilogue is possible is provided by the implementation of the agreement on evacuation of the Military Hospital in Sarajevo. As of yesterday, that institution became a civilian facility, under the control of the International Red Cross. Individual staff members were allowed to decide whether to continue working there, or whether to be evacuated from Sarajevo with the remaining soldiers. The evacuation of the Military Hospital should ease tension in the city, because it and the surrounding area have been the scene of clashes and a dangerous focal point of the war in Sarajevo for days now.

The formal transformation of the former JNA into the TO of the Serbian Republic of B-H is practically complete. However, the question of heavy arms remains to be resolved. On behalf of the republican government, Alija Izetbegovic is demanding that these weapons be placed under the control of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] or be destroyed. And naturally, that they be removed from the hillsides of Sarajevo. According to reliable information, around 100 JNA soldiers and officers have become members of the TO of the Serbian Republic of B-H in recent days. Thus, nearly 85 percent of the troops of the former JNA are remaining in B-H, and it could be hard for any agreement to alter this fact. It is obvious that without a political solution to the overall Bosnia-Hercegovian drama, there will be no change in the balance of opposing sides in the military domain. The only difference is that the JNA will no longer be mentioned; rather, it will be a constituent part of the Serbian armed forces.

[Box, p 3]

Agreement on Transportation?

Sarajevo—Fikret Abdic announced yesterday the possibility of speedy restoration of rail transportation along the Ploce-Mostar-Sarajevo-Zenica line. The purpose of the agreement in question, which also includes the government of the Republic of Croatia, is to save economic giants in B-H such as Zecnicka Ironworks from total collapse. All trains on that line will be checked in order to prevent the transport of military units or arms.

Tudjman Meets UNSC Chairman; Makes Statement

LD2305203792 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 23 May 92

[Excerpts] The admission of Croatia, Slovenia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to the United Nations has for the moment outshone other topics on the East River. But there is no doubt that on the first working day a polarized discussion of the diplomatic status of the new-old Yugoslavia will be held in the United Nations. [passage omitted]

UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] activity was also the main topic of a meeting between Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and Austrian Ambassador Peter Hohenfellner, chairman of the UN Security Council. Afterwards, President Tudjman highly assessed the meeting.

[Begin Tudjman recording] It is evident that things have reached a situation where the Security Council is today unanimous in understanding the crisis in Yugoslavia and all factors that have been thwarting the UNPROFOR action—in which the Security Council is directly interested. The UN Secrutiy Council chairman told us they had reports on who has been thwarting the deployment of UNPROFOR. The Security Council knows, and anyway has sent a direct warning to Belgrade. It is interesting; a warning has been issued to the Belgrade government, they no longer distinguish between the former or the new Yugoslav Government and the Serbian Government and Belgrade, [Tudjman changes thought] asking us to cooperate in the future so that the peace-keeping forces can carry out their role, and hoping that this will be made possible by measures that are being taken now. But, they have let us know that the Security Council and, generally speaking, members of the United Nations will take more decisive steps if implementation of the peace action is brought into question. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Tudjman Speaks on UN Membership, Situation

LD2405212892 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1518 GMT 24 May 92

[Speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman at a public rally in Ban Josip Jelacic Square in Zagreb on his return from New York—live]

[Text] Dear inhabitants of Zagreb, men and women of Croatia, and all citizens of the Republic of Croatia who live in it and who consider it their homeland: We have lived to see this great day, [chants and applause] we have lived to see the day when the entire world, all independent and sovereign states of the world, recognized the independent, sovereign state of Croatia and accepted it... [interrupted by applause] accepted it in their world organization of sovereign, independent states.

The path to this historical event has been both long and short. Long because it lasted nine centuries. Croatian men of all Croatian generations, from the 12th century to our days, lived and died for this event. The thoughts and lives of the best sons of the Croatian people—throughout the centuries, and in our own day on the battlefields for the defense of our Republic of Croatia, have been invested in this act. [applause] Therefore, this path was very long but, dear friends, it also was short if we remember what we had less than two years ago.

[Zagreb] Mayor Buzancic mentioned the celebration and tears which we shed together in this square when we celebrated the establishment of democratic authorities, returning Ban Jelacic [sculpture recently re-erected in the main Zagreb square] as the symbol of Croatian resistance and Croatian statehood. [applause] But, we should remember that only a few months ago we could not hold an electoral meeting—the Croatian Democratic Community which has carried the largest part of the burden of the struggle for Croatia could not hold a meeting—at this main square of all Croats. [appaluse] We then had a would-be Croatian authority that boasted it allegedly protected the interests of the Croatian nation under socialist internationalism, and pretended to be in favor of brotherhood and unity, while it did not allow Croatian flags to fly, did not allow the people who took care of Croatia and who have fought for an independent, sovereign, internationally recognized Croatia for two years to gather in this square.

Mayor Buzancic also mentioned my visits, the departures and returns of Croatia's state delegation. These visits, these talks with the enemy, with the foe, and with the devil, and with all those who threatened Croatia [applause] were not pleasant, of course, but we had to opt for those journeys; we had to conduct talks to build, stone after stone, brick after brick, on our way to an independent and sovereign Croatia. Many people, even honest people, reproached us for doing so, while a great number of dilettantes and all kinds of pen-pushing morons were exploiting this in their calculations, in the calculations of those who opposed an independent and sovereign Croatia, the goal we aspired to. [applause]

We had to negotiate to create our own police, and then our own military police, our own defense forces which would be able to defy the Yugoslav communist army and Serbian and Montenegrin aggression in the wake of these talks. Many did not understand this. [applause] We had to negotiate to win friends for our Croatian cause in the world, for freedom and democracy in Croatia. Now, at this very moment, I can tell you that while we were on that road two years ago, and ever since, until a few months ago, we did not have friends favoring an independent and sovereign Croatia. We had... [interrupted by chants of "Franjo, Franjo"] we had to win them over, and we did, by our principled and democratic policies, by coordinating our national aims with the international community's policies based on democratic premises. We had to convince those who were in favor of preserving Yugoslavia regardless of the cost, because they thought Yugoslavia's disintegration would jeopardize their interests both in Western and in Eastern Europe as well as in the United States. In other words, our policy had to

prove that the Croatian people are entitled to self-determination, the kind of self-determination they recognize with respect to other nations. Equally, we had to strengthen our defense capabilities, we had to defeat the Yugoslav communist army and Serbia's Chetnik and other formations. [applause]

Some people and individuals in Croatia, and particularly in the world who were not Croatia's friends, used to say that the war was unnecessary, that we were to blame for it. I used to say, and I also can say now: Yes, the war would have been unnecessary had we given up our goal of creating the independent and sovereign state of Croatia. [applause] Our proposal was to achieve the goal without war, to resolve the Yugoslav crisis through the transformation of the federation in which nobody was happy, least of all the Croatian people, to resolve the crisis by creating a confederation of sovereign states, in which Croatia would have been sovereign with its own army, currency, and diplomatic service. They refused to accept it. They complained that we were threatening the Serbs in Croatia, which was a lie, because we guaranteed them all rights. It became high time for us to say: enough. Nobody will be the master in Croatia except the Croatian people themselves. [applause]

We prepared ourselves for the realization of our goal, if possible by peaceful means, but if not, then through war. And we won the war. [applause]

But then, dear Croats, dear citizens of Croatia, let me use this opportunity and give an answer to a question: Why, when we won the war in Croatia in general, when the war throughout Croatia ended in the sense that the aggressor was defeated, that it was forced to give up the idea of toppling the Croatian Government, of annexing Croatia to Serbo-Slavia, and even of occupying Croatian territories, why did we not continue the war so that we would drive the aggressor out of Croatia? That is something that many people in Croatia did not understand. And here is why we did not do it: because the Yugo-communist aggressor, backed by Serbia and Montenegro, still had such technical forces, hundreds and thousands of tanks and aircraft, that if we had continued the war, destruction would have been inflicted not only on Vukovar, Osijek, Otocac, Gospic, and other towns, including Dubrovnik, but also on Zagreb, Rijeka, Pula, Sibenik, Split, and on Croatian industrial plants. We would not have had the thousands of casualties that we sustained up to now, but their number would have been tenfold higher. What is worse, Croatia would not have been internationally recognized, we would have been proclaimed aggressors in our own country. [applause]

Therefore, our policy was to strengthen our forces and to persuade the world that we were seeking a political solution. Therefore, we agreed in talks both with the European Community and with the United Nations to the deployment of peace-keeping forces. But, under only one condition: that they would be deployed on the territory of sovereign Croatia, and that there could be no discussion that the territory could ever be brought into question.

I assure you, the last inch of Croatian territory will be liberated from the Serbo-Yugoslav occupiers. [applause] The army of occupation and Chetnik units already are leaving Croatia, and they will have to leave it to the last man, as the plan for the involvement of the peace forces envisages. If they do not do that, we will be ready to drive them out with our own army. [applause] But, today, of course, we live in completely different, changed circumstances. Today, we have an internationally recognized Croatia and an internationally cursed, isolated Serbia, and what they call Yugoslavia.

Therefore, dear brothers and sisters, we have realized the aims of our policy to create a free, independent, sovereign Republic of Croatia, suffering as few casualties as possible. [applause] The victims we had to give came from the units of our police force, from the units of the National Guard Corps, from the units of the Croatian Army, from the civilian population, helpless people—old men, women, and children. These victims are sacred, but, unfortunately, we had to suffer their loss. Not one single nation in history has gained its freedom and sovereignty without victims, so we could not either, but our conscience must be clear, because we did everything possible to reduce the number of victims as much as possible.

In the most difficult days of that defensive war, the internal and external enemy and spies plotted to overthrow this democratic Croatian authority, including by bombing Banski Dvori [former presidential palace] to disorientate Croatia. They spread lies saying that I sold eastern Slavonia in exchange for Hercegovina. Not only did I not sell it, we were preparing to defend every foot of Croatian land. We have sided with the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina as well, and defended them there as well. [applause]

We won the defensive war in Croatia through the unity of Croats at home and in the diaspora. When I say the Croats at home, I also mean Croats in parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because many fighters from Hercegovina-Bosnia [as heard] fought in our units. [applause] And when the Serbian army threatened Bosnia-Hercegovina, it was those people from Bosnia-Hercegovina who had fought in Croatian combat units, these volunteers went there and served as the core of the formation of Croatian defense forces, who defended not only Croatian areas in Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also were a buttress for the defense of the whole of Bosnia-Hercegovina. [applause]

The correctness of our Croatian policy, which eventually had to be recognized by the whole world, became obvious in the example of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Dear brothers and sisters, in a very short period of time we have achieved the aim which many among you, among us, did not dare to dream about: that in such a

short time we would obtain our freedom, our democracy, our state which will be recognized by the whole world. [applause]

This achievement was a miracle which was first admired by and then accepted and respected by the whole world, even those who were not our friends and who did not support us for various reasons. The most powerful centers of diplomatic and military strategy in Europe and the United States believed that we would not be able to survive. But we survived through the miracle of the unity of the Croatian people, the unity of all Croatian areas, Croats abroad and at home, the unity of all generations, the unity of farmers in the fields and of workers in factories, of the intelligentsia, in factories but also at universities, of the intelligentsia rooted in its people, which lives together with its people and which, together with us, nourished trust in its own people, apart from a handful of corrupt villains [applause], which were called corrupt gentlemen by Ante Starcevic in the last century and by Stjepan Radic this century.

Unfortunately, such people spread all kinds of misinformation, but the Croatian people were united and showed their political maturity. That maturity has now been recognized by the whole world. [applause]

You most probably have been able to hear through the media that world representatives have greeted the admission of Croatia [to the United Nations] as an equal member, that they are welcoming us wholeheartedly, and that they are ready to help us in the further development and defense of Croatia. By this we are completing this period of fighting for an independent and sovereign Croatia.

But we are facing a new task, above all, the reconstruction of the devastated homeland, the return of refugees to their homes. [applause] We also face the task of the homeland caring for the families of those who were killed and for those who were wounded. The homeland will have to care to rebuild Croatia. But we also face a higher goal: We have to build what we promised when we started fighting for Croatia—a complete democratic system, a legal system. We have to carry out a transformation of our economy, we have to create a country with a free market, with private enterprise; we have to build our Croatia into a country of progress and welfare. [applause]

If we entered the elections to overthrow the shattered socialist system and to create a free democracy and independent Croatia with the slogan: Let us decide on our own destiny, then the battle for the creation of a progressive and economically happy Croatia, which will not only be beautiful, but also be a country of progress and happiness for all its citizens, must be embarked upon with the slogan: Let us build our own Croatia, it only depends on us what it will look like.

To achieve that, soon after the departure of the last soldier from the last inch of Croatian territory, we will call elections in order to gain a more capable government, in order to gain an assembly which will be elected according to the new Croatian Constitution—because this present assembly was elected according to the communist constitution—in order to strengthen our democracy, in order to be prepared for the reconstruction, for the economic and legal reconstruction of Croatian democracy and the Croatian state. [applause]

I am convinced, dear Croatian women and men, that we also will know how to resolve successfully that historical task, just as we knew how to resolve the first one. The Croatian people make up one of the most diligent nations; the people should only be shown their goals, they should be directed and they will know how to build up their country, not to be forced as they were forced in previous decades, even centuries, to go to distant countries, to unfavorable climates and political conditions, to earn their bread there, but to seek solutions for their families in their own homeland. We will create a Croatia from which people will not flee; we will rather create conditions for the return of our people from abroad. [applause]

Dear citizens of Zagreb and Croatia, Croatian brothers and sisters, let us be proud of what we have achieved, let us not allow anyone to threaten it. Let us roll up our sleeves and exercise our minds to set about the creation of a happy Croatia which must be in the interest of every Croat, and which likewise must be a meritorious member of the United Nations. [applause]

Having entered the circle of the world organization and European organizations, we assumed obligations and we will abide by them. But, let me avail myself of this opportunity to issue a warning and a call to the Serbian population in Croatia: It is high time they came to reason and put a stop to their armed fighting against sovereign Croatia. [applause]

We guaranteed Serbs in Croatia all civil and ethnic rights; but they were drawn into the battle against the sovereign and independent state of Croatia by the imperialist, Chetnik policy of Belgrade. They probably have become convinced now that Yugoslavia no longer exists, neither the Yugoslavia that they were promised, nor greater Serbia. Therefore, let them sober up, let them understand [chanting of "Franjo, Franjo"] that there is no way out other than to accept the independent sovereign Croatian Government and the Croatian state if they wish to live in it, or if they do not, they can go where they can find their land. [applause]

We assumed the obligation before Europe and now before the United Nations that we will respect everybody's civil rights, including the rights of ethnic communities and national minorities, but naturally we will not respect any armed insurrections against Croatia. Those who bloodied their hands by killing innocent Croatian women, children, and old people will have to account for this because there is no statute of limitations on war crimes. [applause] Therefore, we have confirmed what

we said in our constitution and in the constitutional law on the civil rights of ethnic communities and national minorities. Even under the supervision of the international community, which the international community also demands from others on the territory of former Yugoslavia and throughout the world—actually we are ready to observe what the whole world observes today. [sentence as heard] But, at the same time, we are not going to let the sovereign Croatian Government be undermined. [applause]

Dear Croatian brothers and sisters, let us be aware of the responsibility that we assumed by joining the United Nations. But, let us also be proud of the deed that we have done, all of us, together, all Croatian people, as I have said both at home and abroad. Let us cherish that accomplishment, develop it to the honor and pride of future generations which will not have to give their lives and languish in prisons as our grandfathers and fathers had to do and as we ourselves did until two years ago.

We have Croatia, [applause] we have our own Croatia, it is ours and it will be as we ourselves want it. [applause] No one will be allowed to tell us what Croatia should look like, as they wanted to do here recently. Long live our beautiful, only, and eternal Croatia! [applause and chants of "Croatia Croatia"]

Serb Krajina Leader Calls for Defense of Borders

LD2205124192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1125 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—The main task for the people of Krajina at this moment is to preserve their borders, Mile Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK), told a TANJUG journalist.

Paspalj stressed that the UN peacekeeping forces are gradually taking over more territory and less responsibility. A delay in their arrival is, according to Paspalj, a form of political pressure on the RSK.

Paspalj added that additional mobilization has been carried out in Krajina with a view to preserving the borders, and he warned that not an inch of territory will be given to anyone else, least of all to the Croatian Army.

Armed incidents are occurring daily along the Krajina border, from Benkovac to Danube and Beli Manastir, Paspalj said. According to him, small groups from the Croatian Army are infiltrating—the Slano area in particular—and killing and harassing the local population with the aim of causing panic.

He sees the proclamation of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY) "as a transitional period toward what the Serbian people strive for." According to him, the unification of Krajina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina into one state is logical and inevitable.

If Slovenes, Macedonians, Muslims, and Croatians have the right to their own state, why should not the Serbs in Krajina, Paspalj asked.

Stressing the importance of all people in Krajina uniting behind the defense of their territory, Paspalj reviewed relations between Serbia and the RSK, stressing that Serbia has been helping Krajina to the maximum degree and in all respects.

According to him, talks about Serbia allegedly abandoning Krajina are only attempts to sow discord.

Paspalj has no criticism of the Serbian opposition. "In our territory, children of both government and opposition supporters were killed. Since the survival of the Serbian nation is at stake, the government and the opposition must sit down together and find a compromise."

Paspalj said the unity in Serbia would greatly help the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Krajina. "If the situation in Serbia becomes more stable, we shall defend even more fiercely the border on the river Kupa," Paspalj said.

Zagreb Explosion Seen as Warning of Terrorism

92BA0904B Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 92 p 8

[Article by S. Jurdana and M. Strazimir: "Special War of the Counterintelligence Service"—first paragraph is VECERNJI LIST introduction]

[Text] Terrorism threatens all areas of Croatia not caught up in the war. The recent explosion near the American consulate in Zagreb is a warning that the principal city of Croatia and areas that have not been caught up in the war have become—a terrorist target. Thus increased caution by citizens is necessary.

Inhabitants of Croatian cities, especially Zagreb, must prepare themselves for possible terrorist attacks, and this state of readiness could last for many years. The recent explosion near the American Consulate in Zagreb, on Zrinjevac, is a warning that the principal city of Croatia is becoming a terrorist target. And the methods of terrorist bombing are bombs placed in "forgotten" satchels in places where there are many people, automobile bombs left in parking lots that are activated by remote control, booby traps—pencils, cluster bombs—that explode when used, or letters that explode when the recipient opens them, etc.

As to the objective danger of the escalation of such a special war in Zagreb and other Croatian cities, it is necessary for citizens to begin to prepare themselves psychologically. This includes suppressing excessive curiosity about suspicious objects, informing authorities about such objects, and observing suspicious individuals who "forget" satchels or parcels, envelopes, and the like in public places. Moreover, if citizens are careful, placing an explosive in a public place is not simple.

War Losers—Terrorists

In addition, while there is a war situation in Croatia, bringing in terrorists will be made difficult, although the constant flow of refugees increases this possibility. According to estimates, the intensity of terrorist attacks could increase in direct comparision with the success of political solutions. Because, when it becomes clear to the Serbs that they have not achieved territorial-political gains in Croatia, terrorism will probably increase. There are indications that Croatia, despite the genocide that Serbia has carried out against its populace, has not moved for political reasons toward a decisive settlement with fifth-column nests, which have the potential to become focal points of organized terrorism. Settling accounts with a fifth column is becoming a condition without which there is no Croatian civil peace, but beside it in the spectrum of possible Croatian countermeasures is reciprocating with the same methods in Serbia. Let's not forget that America bombed Tripoli at a time when Libyan terrorist attacks had reached the threshold of psychological persistence!

Technicians of Violence

Arrested Kosovo agents are revealing that there are thousands of them, [two words unknown] trained in Pancevo, where there is a KOS [Counterintelligence Center] center, indoctrinated in two basic things: carrying out assigned tasks without objection and doing a job in complete secrecy. The way of keeping a secret in KOS has evolved from two most notorious systems: the Soviet NKVD [People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs] and the German Gestapo. Kosovo agents have prepared themselves for years for coming times; to this is added the equipment that they possess. Who are these technicians of violence, what are their strategy and tactics, and what do they have at their disposal?

The Institute for Security, under the wing of the Military Institute, was already established in the 1960's. There plans have developed for the most treacherous terrorist technology aimed at creating panic in ordinary people and killing citizens "according to need."

Where the Danger Is Hidden

Factories for explosives, except Kamnik in Slovenia, have been built in Serbia and Bosnia in order for terrorists to have them—at home. For example, the Serbian arsenal includes an explosive device that is placed in a vehicle. When the automobile reaches a speed of 60 kilometers per hour, the explosive is activated.

The last explosions in Zagreb—on Zrinjevac, at Dezdicev access, and in Zidovska district—have some apparent similarities. As analysts point out, the perpetrator himself did not have to be an educated person in all these cases. However, those who prepared the explosive and its activation, and especially determined the place where it had to be put in these locations, are professionals. They, unknown for now, knew well the consequences that these terrorist actions would bring—great material damage was caused, and the psychosis of fear was created in people.

However, along with this type of terrorism, individual terrorism is increasingly evident. Its characteristics are: an individual, for who knows what motives, plants an explosive, throws bombs, and through other means causes fear and property damage and in this way, most often in the quiet of night, disturbs citizens.

It is difficult to expect that among the hundreds of thousands of refugees arriving in our homeland, KOS has not also hidden its men to sow fear in parts of Croatia that are not caught up in the war. Therefore, increased caution by all citizens is particularly necessary.

Rupel, Russia's Kozyrev Sign Protocol on Ties

LD2505100892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0925 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 May (TANJUG)—In Ljubljana today Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev, who arrived in Slovenia last night on an official visit, and Slovene Minister of Foreign Affairs Dr. Dimitrij Rupel signed a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations between Russia and Slovenia.

Kozyrev and Rupel discussed the Yugoslav crisis and the possibilities for its speedy resolution. Special attention was paid to the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Further promotion of relations between Russia and Slovenia was also discussed. The Russian foreign minister had meetings today with President of the Slovene Presidency Milan Kucan and Premier Dr. Janez Drnovsek.

It is expected that Kozyrev will leave Ljubljana to visit Skopje.

Rupel Comments on Relations

AU2505152492 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 25 May 92

[Matej Surc report]

[Text] The signing of a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations with Russia is a great event for Slovenia. We can compare it with the dates like the EC's recognition of Slovenia or our admittance to the United Nations. This was stated by Slovene Foreign Minister Rupel in the toast that accompanied the signing of the protocol.

Regarding economic cooperation with this giant state, let us only say that Slovenia has great expectations from Russia. There are still a lot of unexplored opportunities in the trade between the two states, and there is trust in the Russian potential.

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev is travelling to Zagreb today. He will also sign a protocol on establishing diplomatic relations with Croatia there. The chief of the Russian diplomacy will hand over the document on recognizing Macedonia to the Macedonian leadership despite great pressure exerted by the Greek lobby in Russia. He will also try to reach Sarajevo and will end his mediatory mission in Belgrade.

[Begin Rupel recording] Mr. Minister Kozyrev holds some important powers given to him by the leaderships of numerous European states and also by the United States, to try, perhaps for the last time, to influence Serbia to (?calm down its people), that is to say, that it acts constructively within the European framework. Regarding Slovenia's role in this, we stated our opinion that the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina has imposed a specific concept of resolving this issue, of this problem, and that to actually resolve the problem of Bosnia-Hercegovina in a systematic and sensible way we must stop the hostilities and come to the negotiating table and present a concept that will be truly democratic and that will suit all sides that are forced to coexist in Bosnia-Hercegovina. [end recording]

It is worth mentioning that during yesterday's visit to Lisbon, the Russian foreign minister in principle agreed to the punitive measures against Serbia envisaged by Washington and the EC. However, in today's talk with the reporters he did not reply affirmatively to the question whether Moscow would also permit the possible military intervention by the Western forces. In his opinion it is still too soon to discuss this. First we must try with peaceful means. It is expected that it will be known better the day after tomorrow whether the friendly persuasion by Minister Kozyrev bore any fruit. Whatever happens, with Kozyrev's tour Russia took an active part in world's and Europe's efforts to attempt to resolve the Yugoslav crisis.

Kucan on Slovene-Croatian Relations

92BA0890A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 5 May 92 pp 14-15

[Interview with Slovene President Milan Kucan by Ervin Hladnik-Milharcic; place and date not given: "Cooled Brotherly Love"]

[Text] [Hladnik-Milharcic] When did you last meet officially with Croatian President Tudjman at the intergovernmental level?
[Kucan] We last met officially in Zagreb on 7 and 8 February, at the time of the signing of the agreement on economic cooperation and the establishment of diplomatic relations. Later, we also met twice in Brussels, where we also spoke about relations between Slovenia and Croatia.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] Tudjman has not even been on an official visit to Ljubljana, has he?
[Kucan] He has not been in Slovenia ever since the Slovene plebiscite.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] Does that absence of contacts have any deeper significance? Is President Tudjman refusing a visit, or is something else involved?
[Kucan] There are no arguments that would support a general refusal. One should understand that the situation in Croatia is fundamentally different from the situation in Slovenia. Croatia is still at war. It has many difficulties, the UN forces are there, along with the EC observer mission, and the economic difficulties are likewise serious. Also, the Croatian state's international position and standing are different from Slovenia's position and standing. All of this is keeping the president, who has substantially greater authority under the Croatian constitution than I do, very busy. In fact, all executive authority is under his purview. You could count all of this among the justifications. In spite of all the above, if necessary there would of course be enough time and opportunity for a meeting. I think myself that we would have to meet soon. That is indicated by our relations.

What the form of the meeting will be and where it will be is another question. If there had not been occasional opportunities to talk at the Brussels conference on Yugoslavia, we would quite certainly have met already.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] Is it true that the warm fraternal relations with Croatia cooled after the Slovene plebiscite and that they have remained cool since then?

[Kucan] It is hard for me to talk about cooling, since I have never been an advocate of the opinion that there were really warm fraternal relations. Just as in politics in general, there was always a very pragmatic interest in a common path out of the Yugoslav crisis mess. Our analyses of the aspects of the Yugoslav crisis, the causes of it, and the solutions were very similar, but not completely identical. The similarity of our interests then required and governed the frequent meetings, the preparation of a joint strategy, agreements on approaches at home and at meetings in Belgrade, and joint exploitation of the channels that both countries had in the world. This set the tone for our relations at that time. You have to take into account, however, the fact that several initial differences are now becoming more and more significant.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] Which differences?

[Kucan] Primarily the fact that on 25 June Slovenia was more prepared for independence than Croatia. It had implemented many independence-related actions, in contrast to Croatia, which had only prepared legal regulations for implementing measures. The Brioni declaration caught the republics in different positions. For Slovenia, it meant the postponement of further measures, but for Croatia, it meant an obligation that it would not begin to implement independence measures. This difference became very important later on, with monetary independence and other further Slovene actions. Slovenia implemented all the measures previously, and that seriously affected mutual economic relations. Several criticisms that we have not overcome still exist today from that time.

Another difference is the war. In Slovenia, it had different aspects and it was different. That war is often serious underestimated today in Croatia. It was nevertheless a real war, it was by no means staged, and it was not the fruit of any sort of agreement between the army or Serbian leadership and Slovenia. Also, the opinions that Serbia and the army wanted to drive Slovenia out of the federation are pure speculation, which is not based on reality. What is true is that Slovenia's determination and resistance to the aggression simply put the army and the Yugoslav leadership in a completely new position. It is true that the army was not prepared to wage war, and it was only the defeat in Slovenia that forced it to organize itself differently for the war in Croatia. It is not necessary to speak of the relations between Slovenia and Croatia at the time of the Slovene war. Those things are known. They had consequences among our public, just as the current Slovene policy is having consequences in Croatian public opinion, especially since the latter has been exploited.

Differences in the type of social system are also important, however. In Slovenia, all decisions that are important for the existence of the Slovene people receive very extensive verification in parliament. In Croatia those decisions do not have to be verified, because the constitutional powers of the parliament, the government, and the president are distributed differently. Consequently, obligations are not adopted according to the logic of agreements at political meetings. We have to verify things that seem to us to be necessary, suitable, and desirable by normal parliamentary means. This is not a matter of delay on the Slovene side, but rather a different procedure in adopting and confirming decisions.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] Aren't the disputes primarily economic in nature?

[Kucan] Yes. The economic situation of the republics is very different. To a great extent, the differences are a consequences of the war that is still going on and the war economy into which Croatia has been forced. In that area, several practical current issues arise, which have very obvious long-term political consequences. At least two issues should be mentioned. First of all, there is the situation of the Ljubljana Bank in Zagreb and its foreign exchange depositors. This problem is completely unsettled. The views on how to solve it are completely different. It could be solved by passing the debt to the federation, which guaranteed foreign exchange deposits, or, as Croatia proposed, by having the Republic of Slovenia assume those obligations. Furthermore, there are also the Cakovska Bank, Elan, Grubelic, and several other such affairs, which are undoubtedly problematic. This cannot be denied. It should not be a burden on relations between the two states, however.

Another problem is the borders. To put it mildly, some not quite competent people in Slovenia, who should have been aware of their responsibility for having the border issue settled, created a great deal of disturbance. They should have known that in Croatia, which is at war and is threatened with the loss of sovereignty over a third of its territory, such statements could be understood as Slovene claims upon Croatian territory, or, as it was called there, a knife in the back. That action was irresponsible, and complicated the settlement of the fishing issue, and is now also complicating several other issues. My position has always been that as long as the war is going on, it is not possible to think soberly about such sensitive issues. There are too many feelings, and there are too many irrational elements. Of course, it is necessary to identify these issues precisely and start to deal with them normally in authorized intergovernmental bodies.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] It nevertheless seems that they are not being solved.

[Kucan] Such problems are nothing unusual with respect to neighboring states. It is more questionable why some agreements that we have already concluded are not being implemented, or why they are being implemented very slowly.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] The result to date is that public opinion in both countries is turned against the other. The

Croats are criticizing the Slovenes for more and more selfishness and lack of concern, and the Slovenes are getting angry about fishing and weekend cottages. Do relations between the politicians of both states correspond to the mutual public prejudices?

[Kucan] It is my belief that public opinion and the media reactions are primarily a consequence of political events. Public opinion cannot settle political issues, of course. I think that the fact that there is a confrontation in public opinion means that politics is not being successful in solving the problems. The issue of the vacation cottages, in any case, was solved in principle through the intergovernmental agreement on economic cooperation. The property of physical and social persons has been made equivalent, and several other things that have to do with property matters as well. It is a general agreement, however, which specifies that several specific problems are to be solved by separate agreements. The problem of highway links, for example, has a completely different significance for the Croats than for us. Their roads to the West lead through Slovenia, and it is unreasonable that Slovenia is not responding to Croatian and European demands for settling the issue of transportation links, especially since it involves financial companies that are prepared to finance those links themselves. Fishing should also be settled by a separate agreement, and likewise the issue of border crossings and providing infrastructure for people on both sides of the border. These issues cannot suffer delay, since as long as they are unresolved, they arouse indignation and give birth to new prejudices. Several pragmatic political steps should resolve all this. With respect to the public media, in my opinion the problem is primarily their actual autonomy. If the media are being exploited and if politics is trying to solve its failure by mobilizing the media, the matter is certainly lost, and it can poison relations between both republics. If we take into account everything that I mentioned earlier, I think that relations still have not crossed the boundary of normality.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] I do not remember your accepting the credentials of a Croatian ambassador in Ljubljana, and a Slovene ambassador in Zagreb presenting his to President Tudjman. Have I overlooked something?

[Kucan] No. Your memory is right. It was not possible to accept the credentials, since the ambassadors have not yet been chosen. I heard unofficially that Croatia has proposed Dr. Tomac, but the Slovene side has not yet proposed anyone. I hope that his name will be known soon after the government crisis is settled.

[Hladnik-Milharcic] A lot of time has already passed since the days of independence and mutual recognition. Why has there been such a nonchalant attitude toward citizens who can get into very serious difficulties in Croatia because of the war?

[Kucan] Slovenia has its representation in Zagreb, and a charge d'affaires, Mr. Zlebnik. Slovenes are contacting him, although perhaps it is not yet generally known that all consular and other issues can be resolved there.

Assets, Liabilities of Former SFRY Surveyed

92P20270A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 30 Apr 92 p 2

[Unattributed article: "The Balance of the Former Yugoslavia Is Divided Up"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 30 Apr—The economic working group of the peace conference on Yugoslavia has prepared a provisional survey of assets and liabilities for division among the republics of the former Yugoslavia.

According to this survey, the assets of the former Yugoslavia consist of hard currency reserves and reserves in gold and other precious metals in the National Bank of Yugoslavia or deposited in foreign banks, as well as capital which Yugoslavia has paid, as a sovereign state, to international organizations (the IMF, the World Bank, the United Nations, UNESCO, etc.) Likewise, the assets include claims against other states as a result of contracts and sales, especially, sales of weapons and other military equipment and the assets of the JA [Yugoslav Army], including heavy military equipment, tanks, warships, and military aircraft.

The assets of non-profit organizations, such as educational and health institutions and sports and cultural organizations will be divided up. National treasures, including artistic and archeological collections are considered to be assets. The assets of oil pipelines, gas conduits, waterworks, electrical lines, as well as posts and telecommunications systems and transportation infrastructures (JAT [Yugoslav Airlines], the merchant fleet, and the railroad system) will also be divided up.

The foreign debt will be divided up and calculated in the total financial liabilities. This includes the indebtedness to all foreign countries, to commercial and international banks, to international organizations and funds, the federation's public debt—the balance of the Yugoslav National Bank (the members' foreign currency accounts, etc.).

In September 1991, the Danube Institute for Comparative Economic Studies calculated, as follows, the share of the debt which the individual republics would have to pay:

Slovenia ..... 2.496 billion dollars (19.5 percent);
Croatia ..... 3.68 billion dollars;
Serbia ..... 6.165 billion dollars;
Bosnia-Hercegovina ..... 2.125 billion dollars;
Vojvodina ..... 1.151 billion dollars;
Macedonia ..... 0.97 billion dollars;
Kosovo ..... 0.831 billion dollars;
Montenegro ..... 0.68 billion dollars.

Proposed Drnovsek Cabinet Criticized

92BA0880A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 May 92 pp 1, 5

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "Drnovsek's Proposed Cabinet: A Few Surprises, and Even More People Dissatisfied"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The prime minister-designate who is to put together the government has not yet managed to achieve his great goal; in the economic part of the government, the two important names of Marko Voljc and Mitja Gaspari are nevertheless missing; frictions in the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party], which received only two ministerial positions; will the Greens be against Avbersek?; Sesok has remained, but Oven will still not be in the government; the government as a small parliament.

Ljubljana, 3 May—The prime minister-designate who is to put together the new government, Dr. Janez Drnovsek, barely succeeded in putting together by 3:30 the otherwise significantly curtailed cabinet, but barely. Before that, for almost two days and two nights, the final negotiations of the new 5 + 1 coalition were still going on, but in the meantime, at the last minute the LDS [Liberal Democratic Party] coordinating group met again, at which "there was a real storm," as we learned from circles close to the party.

Drnovsek's cabinet, with the candidates for government positions, will certainly be the subject of numerous commentaries, and especially speculations about what really happened in the final hours when the government was being put together. It is already undisputed that Drnovsek did not succeed in meeting his "great goal"—in the economic part of his government, we do not find the two important names that were considered 100-percent, and that would have given the new government a mark of expertise and reputation and made it possible for it to surmount all sorts of difficulties with foreign countries. This involves Marko Voljc, who was supposed to become deputy prime minister for the economy; instead of him, however, Herman Rigelnik, the former director of the Gorenje firm, appears on Drnovsek's list.

After it was already settled that Mitja Gaspari would be minister of finance, Drnovsek's list is temporarily without that minister, and until he fills that position the prime minister himself will perform his duties. For the time being, Drnovsek is also without a minister of justice and administration (temporarily Lojze Janko will conduct those tasks), since obviously there has not been a final agreement on the names that will appear—Peter Bekes, Darja Lavtizar Bebler, Miha Kozinc, and Emil Zakonjsek. Miha Kozinc, because of internal and external party dissension and difficulties, has withdrawn his candidacy, and thus the Liberal Democrats, at least for now, have gotten the short end in Drnovsek's government. The only ones coming from their party are the candidate for minister of agriculture, Joze Protner, and the candidate for minister of education, Dr. Slavko Gaber. Several names from the LDS (Mile Setinc, Vika Potocnik, Janez Kopac, Jasa L. Zlobec) remain outside Drnovsek's government combinations. Drnovsek has thus gathered considerable resentment within the party that he has led for just a short time, and has also received several criticisms already: in particular, that he is playing too solitary a hand in the party, that he perceives it as just a springboard and a playing field for his political ambitions, and that he actually blocked all the party's former officials. That is why people in the party are already talking about how it is not the parties who are in power, but rather their president. Thus, Vika Potocnik, who was supposed to have become a minister without portfolio, according to an internal party agreement, and Mile Setinc, who was supposed to take over the Ministry of Labor, have also been left out of the combination.

There is also a fear that that in the near future Drnovsek will subordinate the LDS to himself in terms of personnel, since he will bring in new people of his own for several key positions. He has already stated clearly in the party that his "political concept" of the structure of the LDS is based on the principle of that party's discontinuity, which would actually mean that the LDS has been turned into Drnovsek's personal service. A clash among officials in the LDS is therefore inevitable, since obviously the former most prominent members of the party symbolize the "former" party, and whatever symbolizes that party would be dangerous for Drnovsek.

It is surprising, however, that Drnovsek has kept former Finance Minister Dusan Sesok in the government, and made him a candidate for minister of industry and construction, and left the Ministry of Tourism and Hotel Industry for his close colleague, former chief of staff Janez Sirse.

The Independents, who also supported Drnovsek in parliament, received the Ministry of Energy, and the candidate for that position in the government is Franc Avbersek, director of the Velenje lignite mine. The Greens are already becoming annoyed, even though they were not completely in agreement with Miha Tomsic's former ministry in Peterle's government. Avbersek is particularly a thorn in the heel of the Velenge Greens, from whose ranks the vice president of the party, Vane Gosnik, comes. Joze Jeraj, a Christian Democrat, is removing himself from Drnovsek's list of candidates for ministers. Jeraj was in Peterle's cabinet for barely two months when he replaced Maks Bastl. Also, Jeraj does not have the best references from the city government, where he was concerned with trade and supplies. The People's Party is not happy with him and with the nominee for minister of agriculture, Protner. Even though this party is not a member of the new coalition, if Drnovsek were to take a position that was different from that of the two ministers, this would result in support for the party and would strengthen its opposition in parliament.

We will thus not find the controversial Edvard Oven in the government, who was removed by Drnovsek from the list of candidates twice because of opposition from the Liberal Democratic political coordinating group, and who returned again to one of the so-called final lists. Since not only was that candidate opposed by the LDS, but Drnovsek also encountered opposition during the final compilation of that list from several other prominent candidates for government ministries (Voljc and Gaspari), he was forced to withdraw Oven's candidacy. Voljc and Gaspari, however, were not only against Oven, but were also against having Dusan Sesok take part in the

government. Among other things, they set one more condition for the prime minister-designate: that he adopt their work program, with which he agreed completely at first, but then also changed his mind about the programs. Thus, the economic part of the government, which during this transitional period is certainly of exceptional significance until the elections (and which Drnovsek also pushed as the alpha and omega of his cabinet), remained partly unfilled, or with certain names that were not exactly a guarantee of a strong "core" for the prime minister-designate's government. It is obvious, however, that Drnovsek still hopes that he will get Mitja Gaspari for the government sometime later. He has obviously completely given up on Voljc.

The Reformers, who gave Drnovsek a quarter of the votes and whom he did not want to include on an equal basis in the new coalition, will have to be satisfied with three ministries that are not exactly key ones. Obviously, they still hope that later on they will obtain one of the still vacant ministries, with respect to which they are probably counting most on the ministry of justice, since the ministries of culture and industry (in fact, they demanded one of the three) are already occupied. The Reformers' candidate, Maks Tajnikar, was to occupy the position of minister of planning, according to the original desires of the SDP [Party of Democratic Reform]. Drnovsek, however, has allotted him the position of minister of small business. Sonja Lokar has dropped out, and Milos Prosenc has received the position of minister of veterans.

Diplomatic, Economic Ties Planned With RSA

92P20200A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
7 May 92 p 5

[Article by Ursa Izgorsek: "Slovenia's New Links With the Republic of South Africa"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 6 May—Today, the representative of the Slovene Foreign Minister Zoran Thaler received the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of South Africa, Kevin Patrick Brennan. On this occasion, the guest delivered a letter from the Foreign Minister of the Republic of South Africa, Roelof Frederik Botha, on recognition of the Republic of Slovenia.

In addition to the letter of recognition, which was in accordance with the decision of the South African Government signed on 2 April, with the southernmost African state recognizing us a day later, the representative of the Republic of South Africa also brought a letter proposing the establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries and the signing of an economic agreement. In his speech, Brennan said that the government of South Africa was seeking to normalize relations with all republics of the former Yugoslavia. If the Slovene Government agreed with the proposal for the establishment of diplomatic relations, the Republic of South Africa would be prepared to appoint an ambassador for Slovenia in one of our neighboring countries. But, as of now, it is not clear which country will be chosen. But. at any rate, the choice will be made in full agreement with the position of the Slovene Government. Recently, the Republic of South Africa established diplomatic relations with many newly-formed states and also with those in which, as in the case of Slovenia, the opening of embassies raises the issue of expenses.

In Brennan's opinion, Slovenia is extraordinarily interesting to the South African Republic for economic reasons. As of now, the countries are cooperating in an exemplary fashion in several fields—for example, products from Gorenje have been selling well on the South African market—and there will be more opportunities for trade with the establishment of diplomatic relations. The Central European market is very attractive to the economy of the Republic of South Africa and because of its geographic position and its sea and rail connections, new opportunities will also be presented for Slovenia.

International

Government Issues Statement on UN Membership

LD2205183592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1657 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, 22 May (TANJUG)—In connection with the UN General Assembly decision to admit Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to this international organization, the Yugoslav Government has issued the following statement, which was submitted to the UN General Assembly today:

1. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia recalls the declaration of people's representatives of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro of 27 April 1992, in which it is stressed that "while honoring all its responsibilities toward the international organizations and institutions of which it is a member, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia will not hinder the inclusion of newly formed states in these organizations and institutions, especially in the United Nations and its specialized agencies".

2. The fact that the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia- Hercegovina have become UN members in no way calls into question the international and legal identity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and its membership in the United Nations and its specialized agencies.

3. We would like to take this opportunity to recall once again that the Yugoslav crisis has not yet been resolved. It should be borne in mind that the admission of the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to membership of the United Nations must not prejudge the outcome of the conference on Yugoslavia, the status of the areas under UN protection, and the efforts to resolve the outstanding issues which—within the framework of the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina—should lead toward an all- embracing political solution, observing the legitimate rights and demands of all three constituent nations of this republic.

4. In keeping with the above, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia hopes that the admission of the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina to the United Nations will contribute to constructive cooperation between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republics of Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia- Hercegovina in resolving all outstanding issues related to mutual relations.

5. The Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia understands that a general and total embargo on all deliveries of arms and military equipment—established by UN Security Council Resolution 713 of 1991 and confirmed by subsequent appropriate resolutions—is still in effect and that it will be applied to all territories of the former Yugoslavia until the UN Security Council decides otherwise. This is regardless of any decision on the recognition of the independence of certain republics, i.e., their admission to the United Nations, and is in keeping with Paragraph 33 of the report by the UN secretary general (s/23363) and Paragraph 6 of Resolution 727 of 1992.

At the request of the Yugoslav Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, this statement will be published as an official document of the UN General Assembly and the UN Security Council.

Federal

No More Sessions of 'Former Yugoslavia' Assembly

LD2205141992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1311 GMT 22 May 92

[Text] Belgrade, May 22 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the former Yugoslavia will not hold any more sessions, and the next to meet will be the parliament of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as announced in the bicameral Assembly on Friday.

The secretaries of the two Assembly chambers, Aleksandar Vujin and Milan Krnic, said on Friday the Federal Chamber would no longer meet, as they said would not either the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, unless absolutely necessary.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which is made up of Serbia and Montenegro, was proclaimed on April 27, after Slovenia, Croatia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina seceded.

Vujin, secretary of the Federal Chamber, said the chamber would no longer meet since it had completed its duties—adopted the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and called federal elections.

Vujin said the issue of the status of federal officials from the former Yugoslav republics had been resolved and all of them had practically been relieved of duty with the adoption of the federal law on April 27.

Obradovic Requested To Explain Army Changes

92BA0920A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 6

[Unattributed article: "To Confirm Positive Changes in the Army"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] Letter from the secretary general of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] to Vuk Obradovic; in the SPO's opinion, certain misunderstandings have remained after the replacement of a large group of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] generals.

Yesterday the SPO's secretary general, lawyer Milenko Radic, sent a letter to the chief of the Administration of Moral Education of the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense], Major General Vuk Obradovic, in connection with the replacement of a large group of JNA generals. In Radic's opinion, certain misunderstandings

have remained, which he summed up in two questions that he assumed Obradovic could answer.

"1) You are aware," the letter states, "that nine villas with 32 luxury apartments in Dedinje are being prepared for someone to move in. These villas were purchased for free, at the expense of all citizens of Serbia, precisely for the generals who have been replaced: Blagoje Adzic, Milutin Kukanjac, Sava Jankovic, Milan Pujic, Branko Stankovic, Mate Pehar, Uzelac, Jokic, Mamula... and so the question arises of whether these villas will change residents after the replacement of the generals?

"2) You are also aware that a group of officials of the Serbian Socialist Party, representing themselves as the SFRY Presidium, illegally and illegitimately proclaimed a direct danger of war, ordered partial mobilization, and restricted the movements of citizens of Serbia."

Now, after the replacement in the ranks of the JNA, Radic raised the following questions:

"Will implementation of the above restrictions cease?

"Will the Military Prosecutor's Office initiate criminal proceedings against those who made the military conflicts possible, who incited hatred, who led the Serbian people astray and kept them there, and who are most responsible for the deaths of several thousand citizens of Serbia, the wounding of several tens of thousands of citizens of Serbia, and the permanent emigration of over 300,000 Serbs out of Croatia, as well as the psychological and economic destruction of several million citizens?

"Will the proceedings against individuals who left the battlefield, and who evaded going to the front, be halted?

"Will the individuals who have been convicted of draft evasion be released from serving their sentences?"

The letter from lawyer Milenko Radic, the secretary general of the SPO, concludes, "By providing the necessary answers, and initiating the essential proceedings, the army would confirm that there have been positive changes in its ranks."

'Drama' of Shake-Up of Army Leadership

92BA0907B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 May 92 p 6

[Article by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "Departure of the Old Wisdom"]

[Text] The long list of retired generals is a necessary consequence of the situation in the army and of the need to change it. For many people, the list is shocking, because it included the names of people believed to be have been in line for promotion. Some of the most recent retirees learned of it watching the television news and were greatly amazed at the fact that their own identity "went out that way."

We think that there is no reason for surprise or "shock," nor do we think that the number of those departing is too great. Everyone on the list could reflect with considerable bitterness on his fate, but he must not think it is worse than the destiny of the soldiers in the Sarajevo convoy. The pensioning off of those on the list is no sensation, it would have been a sensation if it had not occurred, or if there had been further hesitation about it. At the same time, it is unfair to use the same yardstick to measure the responsibility of Blagoje Adzic and the others, because the level of authority was simply different. The last list is a continuation, but not a conclusion, of the explosive catharsis of the personnel of the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. Those who are departing are precisely those who perhaps had good intentions, but did not altogether understand what was happening around them, nor what should be done to prevent it. Adzic's departure, of course, takes away the last member of the famous triumvirate whose other members were Kadijevic and Brovet, whose results will certainly be a subject for analysis and processes of various kinds for a long time yet.

The present drama cannot be followed with the necessary measure of precision unless one takes into account several key events from the time when these three represented the top of the military pyramid—at that time, untouchable. First, there is the disastrous idea of the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-PJ] and the tremendous ideological slap that still stings the back of the military. Second, the announced and unaccomplished disarming of the paramilitary formations, which subjected all subsequent explicit positions of the top military leadership to a justified critical reservation. Third, the collapse in Slovenia, along with new media gaffes of the military establishment. Fourth, the fate of the young men—the Serbian recruits, who were left in the lurch on several occasions between the obvious treason and the clumsily concealed incompetence. Fifth, the dilettante behavior of the command of the 2d Military District and Alija Izetbegovic's "arrest." Sixth, the persistent preservation of the "right" to privileges of a segment of the general corps and the attempt to condemn discussion of this instead of the thing itself.

The war in Bosnia is a tale to itself. A greater misdeed than leading untrained boys to the battlefield there is the inability to see that they take care of themselves. All of this (and much else that has not been referred to) have contributed to a situation in which a large number of people who made up the JNA are leaving before it attempts to create the Army of Yugoslavia according to its own taste and whim.

What, then, contributed to the scandalous incompetence and depressive political blindness of certain military leaders? Were the events and their unexpected pace beyond the spirit and education, bravery, knowledge, and decisiveness of people who held the key posts? If that is the case, why did it happen?

The reform of the army in any case presupposes radical changes in personnel. They are occurring, if not too late, at least at the last moment. Consistency in respecting the principle of negative personnel selection has had disastrous results. While this has been paid for with losses that could be made up, society did not put the question of accountability. Life went on, and the average generals were glorified because of their position and the systematic devotion of the media. When the most precious lives began to be lost because of incompetence, then there could be no coverup. But even then, evil mechanisms operated to protect an otherwise nonexistent authority of the office instead of the men, their honor, and career. The picture of the exchange of prisoners in Sarajevo remains unforgettable. The young Serbian soldiers, with their hands tied behind their backs, getting into a bus, their heads bent, shying away from the cameras, and displaying no joy at their liberation. There is no record of the shame of those who brought them to the feeling of probably having lost an important part of their personal dignity at the age of only 19.

A question arises at this moment: Where from here? What will be the resolution of the drama caused by the general shake-up of the military and the awareness that that upheaval was caused by precisely those people who held the highest authority until yesterday. The purge of personnel is, of course, only one part of creation of the new army, but at this moment the most important part. It is no accident that Broz' honor guard left just a few days earlier. Although symbolic, the connection is obvious, and there is nothing more to maintain a sensible emotional tie with Broz' times. The young soldiers were massacred in the streets of Sarajevo in those same streets in which the Muslims had carried Broz' picture a month before. The fanatics who carried those pictures are today in the ranks of the army, which fired on young Serbs in JNA uniforms. Why did the command of the 2d Military District remain in the city in spite of the murderous logic? There is no intelligent answer, but it must arrive, if only by way of defense against a high level of dilettantism. We hope that the resignation of the acting minister and the dismissal of the commander of one military district are a contribution to that kind of protection, but accountability simply cannot end at that level. Both the ability of those who are departing and the years they will be pensioners are limited. Only the suffering of those made unhappy by their wisdom is unlimited.

Nis Parachute Unit Seen as Future Army Model

92BA0920B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 92 p 7

[Article by Ljubodrag Stojadinovic: "After the Replacement in the Army"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] A model of professionalization already exists, and it could be used by literally copying the work of the brilliant Nis parachute unit.

The mass dismissal of those who until the day before yesterday were very powerful JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] generals is still the topic of the day. The common denominator of almost all the analyses is the conclusion that actually nothing has been completed and that actually, a great deal is just beginning now. It was not possible for the former JNA to be "translated" into the army of Yugoslavia by simply being renamed, since the entire framework of the values of socialist Yugoslavia's army has been dispelled in less than a year. The ideology of loyalty to a posthumous cult and adoration of a deceased commander has been convincingly defeated in conflict with the concept of what the army was in the state that has disappeared and what it should be in the new one. The idyllic theory has been dispelled in a terrible war, but the former JNA has nevertheless not suffered its most serious defeats on the field of battle, but rather in its stubborn attempt to preserve and perpetuate its dilapidated foundations and return its entire life to the idyllic times that have disappeared along with its divinely glorified creator.

The departure of the 40 people happened in dramatic times, but is not dramatic per se, except for the people on the list, naturally. It was all inevitable, because if it had not been for the departures, especially of the leading people, the hopelessness could not have been measured. The fact that most of those who were replaced interpret this as a tragedy for the army is only a reflection of their personal ambitions upon the general affair, and a proof of their tremendous inability to face the dimensions and causes of the consecutive upheavals. The loss of power and the public exposure of their clumsiness and professional unfitness are causing ill temper among those who are departing "after everything," but personal feelings are secondary at this time. One must think about what will happen next, and that is the central issue around which all the others are necessarily grouped.

In the extremely complicated operation of creating a new army, personnel shifts are a necessary part of the mosaic, an unavoidable job of getting rid of the most conservative personnel ballast. It was not possible to expect that the principal or even an episodic role in developing the new army would be played by people who were not able to learn anything, even from their own worst experiences. The most tragic thing is associated with the naive and too costly involvement in the alternative of the blocked barracks, and the rigid failure to adjust to persistent guerrilla resistance. That is part of the past, however, the worst experiences of which should be archived along with the people who are leaving ingloriously, and deservedly so.

In order for the army to survive in the new state and adapt to its key patriotic obligations, an urgent infusion of new intelligence, an efficient organization of its work, and a comprehensive, creative approach to the big job are essential. It seems that the category of incompetent servants has finally come to an end; otherwise, everything will be repeated. In the JNA's hierarchy of values, liberalism was regularly branded as heresy of the worst

kind, and so one can hear even today from many people, who are objectively much to blame, that public speech is responsible for their dismissal, and not their professional inability. It is essential to create a professional nucleus of experts, from people who have improved upon the unusable methodology of training, with the irreplaceable but too costly practical experience of war.

Clearly, professional training is inevitably to be followed by a radically new approach, with a search for flexible and quick-thinking solutions, which will not (because it is fatal) depend upon the traditionally slow command structure. A model of professionalization already exists, and it could be used by literally copying the work of the brilliant parachute unit in Nis. These are people who, thanks to their great knowledge and personal fearlessness under the most difficult conditions, succeeded in preserving their own lives, and were even more successful in saving the lives of "ordinary" soldiers. These are soldiers of a "higher order," and the new army, of course, must have more such units.

At the very beginning, the new state will have to restructure the educational system for the officers of its army, and resolve the traumatic issue of the defense industry in a rational manner. It will also have to keep the conflagration of war as far away from its own borders as possible, however. We think that even more severe pressure from Europe and the United States will follow immediately, aimed at having the army, and especially the parts of it in Bosnia-Hercegovina, "pacified" as much as possible. The new federal state, with respect to the army that is inside its borders, must be considerably more resolute in preserving the borders and the dignity of the country and its army. One also should not forget the burden of "international terrorism" that the army bears after the comedy with Alija Izetbegovic, which finally served as the crowning justification for turning the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe into a classic military-political inquisition.

The above-mentioned are only a few of the jobs and only a few of the problems to come, which will naturally make the process of "completing" Yugoslavia's army more difficult. There is no reason, however, to hesitate or fatalistically wait for a "higher power." There simply is none, and all the forces of possible destruction are mostly here. The most dangerous of all is conservative fear of changes that cannot be avoided. Nevertheless, things are moving, and it all had to start with the replacement of people who did not want to change anything.

Difficult Position of JNA in Bosnia Discussed

92BA0893B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 1 May 92 p 16

[Article by Uros Komlenovic: "Sewing on Lilies?"—first paragraph is NIN introduction]

[Text] How the Army will divorce itself in the former central Yugoslav republic and its homeland (Rudo, 1941).

With the definitive formation of the "third Yugoslavia," the position of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] in Bosnia has been further complicated. As the new state's army, the JNA will have the status of a foreign armed force in the former central Yugoslav republic, in formal legal terms. This was also pointed out by Pavic Obradovic, the vice president of the Serbian Assembly, advocating that this issue be resolved within the framework of a conference on Bosnia under EC sponsorship. That problem, however, is already being dealt with by Blagoje Adzic and Alija Izetbegovic, although one should not expect quick solutions from their talks.

It is indisputable that things are not easy for the Yugoslav Army in Bosnia. While in Hercegovina it has been fighting for months now against the HOS [Croatian Armed Forces] troops, now rechristened the TO [Territorial Defense] of western Hercegovina, in the parts of the newly recognized state where mostly Serbs and Muslims live its position is incomparably more sensitive. The Army will not succeed in playing its declared role as a "buffer zone" between the Serbian territorial forces and the "Green Berets" much longer. The JNA is more and more infrequently denying the accusations by the Muslims that it is more favorably inclined toward the Serbs, especially when its positions are attacked. Furthermore, the JNA's ethnic structure itself (Serbs constitute the vast majority) can by no means guarantee its strict neutrality, especially in cases in which the Serbian population is seriously threatened.

In many people's opinion, the Army lost an opportunity to avoid its present independent position at the beginning of March, when the first barricades sprung up in Sarajevo. By mediating between the nervous Alije Izetbegovic and Radovan Karadzic, General Milutin Kukanjac attained great popularity among Bosnians of all nations. Could he have then (or upon the renewed escalation of violence in the capital of Bosnia-Hercegovina) have used his popularity, suspended civil authority, which was impotent in any case, "stood by the people," and thus prevented or at least postponed the bloodshed?

Where All the Serbs Are

"It was already too late," claims Milan Milivojevic, an active colonel in the JNA and deputy chairman of the Initiative Committee of the Association of Fighters in the 1991-92 war. "The preparations for armed conflicts were carried out for too long, and so a possible putsch would have only represented a temporary solution. If Kukanjac had done it, it would have been even worse."

The public, however, is most interested in the further fate of the JNA in Bosnia. The possibility that the Second Army Region may be disbanded or completely withdrawn from this republic is not realistic, since it would be opposed by the Bosnian Serbs (threats have

already been heard from the crisis headquarters of the Serbian opstina Bosanski Brod that if the JNA withdraws from this area, the tanks will be confiscated). Another solution, which is advocated by the authorities of Bosnia-Hercegovina—renaming it as the Bosnian army—is even more impractical. It is most likely, however, that soldiers and officers who do not live in Bosnia (and represent a minority in the Second Army Region) will be withdrawn from Bosnia, as announced by Serbian Prime Minister Radoman Bozovic. Some of them, however, will sew lilies onto their uniforms, and the rest (the majority) will temporarily withdraw to those parts of Bosnia-Hercegovina where the Serbian population is in the majority.

"The Army has already virtually abandoned part of Bosnia-Hercegovina (western Hercegovina, Capljina...) and so one can deduce its further reactions from this," says Stevan Mirkovic, a retired general and one of the leaders of the SKPJ [expansion not given]. "The JNA will stay where it is wanted, i.e., in garrisons located on territory where the Serbs are in the majority, and in time, it will be transformed into the armed force of the Serbian canton. If the negotiations on the cantonization of Bosnia-Hercegovina fail, however, the Serbian people will probably choose annexation to the new Yugoslavia, and thus a legal basis for a continued JNA presence in Bosnia would be found. In any case, I do not believe that the Army will abandon these areas."

Even with the optimistic assumption that the conference on Bosnia will yield results with which the Serbs could be satisfied (a confederal system, in particular), the problems of military property (i.e., of its division) remain. More than half of the defense industry installations of the former Yugoslavia were located precisely in Bosnia. It is important to emphasize that the most important installations will remain outside the Serbian territories (the aircraft factory in Mostar, the airport in Bihac, and the installations around Travnik and Bugojno). General Mirkovic thinks that time is needed for a withdrawal and a division of assets:

"Izetbegovic will make a mistake if he tries to drive out the JNA through armed pressure, since he could be left empty-handed with respect to the defense industry. In that case, a classic military withdrawal could be carried out—taking away everything that can be carried and destroying the rest. That naturally does not help anyone, especially not the local population that makes a living from that industry. A planned withdrawal would be a much smarter solution."

Combat Morale

In contrast, for instance, to General Stevanovic, the commander of RV and PVO [radio communications and antiaircraft defense], who stated that the Bihac airport would be blown up before it would be surrendered, Colonel Milivojevic thinks that that is not a solution.

"The Bihac airport will probably be kept under the JNA's control for a long time, and after its possible abandonment, it will be incapacitated as much as necessary so that it does not represent a danger to us. The destruction of this airport and other military installations is not acceptable, because it could lead to an ecological catastrophe of even greater dimensions than in certain parts of Croatia after several storage depots were blown up."

Of course, withdrawing part of the JNA from Bosnia will increase the already large number of refugees. Colonel Milivojevic cited the fact of 20,000 families of military personnel who do not have homes in Serbia.

"It is incomprehensible that luxury apartments are being built for individuals from the present and former military leadership while so many of our officers and their families do not have roofs over their heads. Some of them are housed in commands, garrisons, adapted lofts, and former building council offices, and some of them—nowhere. In the SSNO [Federal Secretariat for National Defense] building I met two crying women who told me that they had already been sleeping in the park for three nights. On the other hand, I heard that in the last 10 years more than 2,000 military apartments had been expropriated—somebody's sons got them. All of this is causing disillusionment and rage among many officers, and in the final analysis, is weakening the combat morale of the nation."

The arrival of new "military homeless people" from Bosnia, as well as the news about the cheap purchase of military apartments, will naturally cause grumbling and possibly even rebellion among the inhabitants of Serbia, whose average monthly earnings of about 50 marks, with a lot of luck and resourcefulness, are only enough for bare subsistence. JNA officers also have to eat, and so it is not difficult to agree with the POLITIKA military commentator: "The new state will have to take care of the fate of the army." The question is just whether it will be able to.

Serbia

Draskovic, Cavoski on Upcoming Serbian Elections

92BA0913A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 12 May 92 p 10

[Article by M. Pasic: "Vuk Draskovic and Dr. Kosta Cavoski on Upcoming Elections: What the Roundtable Really Is"—first paragraph is POLITIKA introduction]

[Text] No one in the world will recognize single-party elections. The proposal by academician Dobrica Cosic is good, but it "comes three years too late."

Vuk Draskovic took advantage of the meeting with journalists upon the unveiling of the monument to Gen. Draza Mihailovic to comment once again on the upcoming elections, which are scheduled for 31 May. Comparing the situation during the first elections in postwar Yugoslavia with the current situation, the leader

of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement] remarked that the communists four decades ago were more skillful.

"We cannot participate in the elections when there is no election law, a law on the financing of political parties, and when there are two weeks left in the election campaign. At a time when central television and other public news media are in the hands of the regime, just as in the days of darkest Bolshevism," the chairman of the SPO said, adding that what will happen on 31 May constitutes tyranny and a farce that will prolong the agony of the Serbian nation.

Single-Party Elections

In his opinion, no one in the world can recognize these elections, in which the communists and their backup party are participating, so that it can be said frankly that they will be single-party elections.

As far as the creation of an opposition coalition is concerned, Draskovic promised to treat Serbia to a press conference before long at which a solid opposition alliance will be ceremoniously advanced. "I will personally propose that the biggest rally ever against communo-fascism in Serbia be held at the end of May at Trg Slobode in Belgrade."

Draskovic commented on the replacement of a large number of generals in the leadership ranks of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army]. In his opinion, this is a superficial change for tactical and practical reasons. Serbia needs a scapegoat in order to convince the people that the policy of Slobodan Milosevic has not suffered a fatal defeat. That is just how Stalin acted, Draskovic said.

"The regime is picking obedient generals. The steamroller of death has come from Triglava through Croatia and Bosnia to knock at our own door. In a possible clash between democratic forces and the government, we know whom these generals will defend."

Commenting on the proposal by academician Dobrica Cosic concerning a joint agreement between all parties prior to the elections, Dr. Kosta Cavoski, the vice chairman of the Serbian Liberal Party, said that this is a good idea, but that it comes three years too late

He said that Slobodan Milosevic makes use of dictates. Dobrica Cosic has noticed this only now, but he did not remark that the president of Serbia and his party have been using these means ever since they emerged on the political scene. The roundtable is not what the SPS [Serbian Socialist Party] thinks it is, a meeting convened by the vice prime minister to hear what the opposition thinks. The roundtable presupposes that the socialists renounce the majority of their authorities in order that the conditions for the election race can be established in a joint and equal way. This means that the election law, the law on political organizations and financing, not be imposed, but rather that these documents be achieved through a joint agreement, Kosta Cavoski said.

"New Marrack Goulding"

Vuk Draskovic believes that through the scheduled elections, the regime is toying with big trouble. "It could happen that Yugoslavia gets a fascist-communist parliament. If the opposition wins the local elections that would be held later, it would be hard for democratic Serbia to survive under that sort of federal government," according to Vuk Draskovic.

The SPO leader welcomes the effort by Dobrica Cosic, who has the courage to call for a roundtable. "I do not know in whose name Mr. Cosic is speaking, but I believe that he is a mediator. If he is a new Marrack Goulding, then his mediation is unsuccessful. I am afraid that this regime will bring in the 'blue helmets,' who would separate Serb from Serb," Vuk Draskovic said at the end.

Radical Party Leader Condemns Election Boycott

AU2605091692 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 19 May 92 p 8

[M. Dugalic report: "Calls to Elections and Harmony"]

[Text] Kraljevo, 17 May—At today's promotional and pre-election gathering of the Serbian Radical Party in Kraljevo, Dr. Vojislav Seselj gave a speech to the citizens in the central city square, in front of the monument to the Salonika soldiers. The main message in the speech by the president of the Serbian Radical Party was contained in his call to the people of Kraljevo to vote in the federal and local elections on 31 May for the best candidates. He also reminded them that this was their patriotic duty, and that they would thus contribute to the achieving of democratic legitimacy of the new Yugoslavia. Vojislav Seselj condemned leaders of other opposition parties for boycotting the elections, calling them traitors, and gave his opinion on the reasons for their boycott. It all came down to, in his words, the unavoidable desire of these parties "to execute orders from Serbia's enemies, particularly America."

"The reconstruction of an independent and free Serbian state includes all Serbian countries: Serbia, new Yugoslavia, Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbian Dubrovnik, Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun, Banija, Slavonia, Baranja, and Serbian Macedonia. In order to achieve that aim as soon as possible, we have accepted this concept of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a necessary interim state, to preserve the international continuity of the country, and not, as our enemies and domestic traitors would have it, to beg recognition at the European till.

"Now," Seselj said, "the battle is being fought for the Serbian Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Serbian people are winning there, so we expect that this territory will be completely liberated. It will then be defended by a strong and well-equipped army, formed from the Serbian population in these regions."

Milosevic's Spouse on Future Ties of Republics

92BA0903A Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 1 May 92 pp 18-22

[Interview with Mira Markovic, professor of sociology in the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics of Belgrade University and a member of the Executive Committee of the Yugoslav Committee of the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia, by Luka Miceta in Belgrade; date not given: "The Road We Did Not Travel"]

[Text] "She is not like other women; she dreams of a new world." ("The Dirty Theater")

Mira Markovic is a professor of sociology in the School of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at Belgrade University and a member of the Executive Committee of the League of Communist—Movement for Yugoslavia [SK-PJ]. She is a woman whose power and ability should not be doubted.

History will determine what role and influence she has had on developments in this country.

The house at No. 3 Tolstoy Street has nothing special about it. Dedinje has more impressive buildings.

The interior is arranged unpretentiously.

A great deal of light, pictures, and books.

Bradic's portrait of Emperor Dusan, two icons ("We are all atheists here. They are here as works of art"), a graphic by Mersal Berber....

One cannot but notice the worn (oporuzena) works of Lenin, Marx, and Engels ("A house without books is not a home," Miodrag Bulatovic would say).

In the street named after the author of *War and Peace*, we talked about our own war and peace. Even Leo Nikolayevich would not have been able to describe it; it is more a subject for Dostoyevsky.

Our situation is, of course, much clearer to Professor Markovic than to anyone else.

She speaks quietly and without gesturing.

[Miceta] We are in a situation where both belligerents are using the terms: fascism, bolshevism, Chetniks, Ustashi.... Their purpose is, on the one hand, to express moral indignation, and on the other national integration and homogenization, which mainly results in a kind of communication which does not include negotiations and dialogue. After all, there is no negotiation with fascists or bolsheviks. So, the conclusion runs, they must be eradicated, and at the same time both regimes stay in power this way.

[Markovic] It is true that both sides are using identical or similar terminology. In official Croatia, the expression "Chetniks" is a synonym for the Serbs, while in Serbia, in a large segment of official public opinion, the expression "Ustashi" is a synonym for the Croats. However, just as all Serbs are not Chetniks, so all Croats are not Ustashi. The use of similar terminology follows from a similar mindset. That is, from the nationalistic mindset. The difference is only that one nationalism has been institutionalized—the Croatian, while the other—the Serbian—has not been.

Some features of fascism in Croatia are visible and can be compared to Nazism in Hitler Germany. At the time when fascism arose there and during the entire time it lasted, the Jews and Communists were fixed upon as the cause of all the difficulties Germany confronted. We have a similar phenomenon today in official Croatian policy, which fixes upon the Serbs and Communists as the cause of their economic, political, and all other difficulties.

[Miceta] Nor is Serbia immune to such things. Nationalism in Serbia is escalating. Seselj has made public his fascist platform in the Assembly. How do you look upon that?

[Markovic] As on similar things in Croatia, which we have condemned when they occurred there. The commitment to driving out the Croats unless they are loyal is the same as persecuting the Serbs in Croatia unless they are loyal. From the political standpoint, but still more from the moral standpoint, negative things need to be condemned first of all in one's own people and one's own environment, and then in other peoples and other environments. And it is particularly intolerable for us to use one yardstick for evil in our own community and another one for the same evil in someone else's.

Also, in one segment of the public in Serbia, in that segment which is nationalistic, there is a similar inclination—responsibility for the bad economic, political, and in general social position in which Serbia has found itself is attributed to the Croats and the Communists. Fortunately, that nationalism in Serbia has not taken on the proportions and institutionalization which nationalism has assumed in Croatia.

In any case, where I do not agree with you is the second part of your question in which you say that Serbia is bolshevik. Serbia is not bolshevik. Serbia is no longer even socialist.

[Miceta] Could you make the case for that?

[Markovic] Of course. First, in Serbia there is a multitude of property relations with the trend toward minimizing state ownership and social ownership. The dominant trend is toward privatization as the principal orientation in ownership. Second, there is a multiparty system. Third, the incumbent Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] has fewer and fewer ideological and left-wing features, and more and more ethnic elements. These are features which are incompatible with socialism, and especially with bolshevism, as its original and extreme form.

[Miceta] What is our greatest threat at this moment? What are we closer to: fascism or communism? To be sure, we assume that you do not even perceive communism as a threat to a society.

[Markovic] I think that the verb "threaten" cannot be used for things that are so different as fascism and communism. First, because fascism has already occurred, and communism was never achieved anywhere. It is a blueprint of society for the distant future. And then, also because fascism in both its commitments and in its practice is probably the most inhumane form of society in history. Its commitments have been based on a conception of physical liquidation of entire nationalities and races. And those commitments began to be carried out in World War II. The communist commitments, on the contrary, contain the idea of equality of all races, all nationalities, and all people in general.

[Miceta] You have expressed a belief in the survival of Yugoslavia even in the case of its disintegration. Is that not a contradictio in adjecto? Does this mean that this kind of Yugoslavia had to die for the new one to be born?

[Markovic] It did not have to die. It did not have to fall apart. I consider its disintegration temporary. It is the result of the united efforts of Yugoslavia's enemies outside the country and of their representatives within the country. In time, when the war is over, when the world powers find some other proving ground for testing their weapons for special warfare and their worn-out weapons for conventional warfare, Yugoslavia will be reestablished. First there will be economic ties among the former Yugoslav republics, and then political ties, and finally cultural ties.

[Miceta] "That new Yugoslavia made up of one or two nationalities and minorities compelled for now to live with us is not Yugoslavia," you recently said, and you emphasized in that connection: "I hope that the Yugoslav nationalities and citizens realize relatively quickly that no other time nor other people are to blame for the destiny that has overtaken them, but only this time and these people." That view of yours does not preclude the possibility of ascertaining that there is no Yugoslavia without Slovenes and Croats, that Broz and the Communists do not bear responsibility for this outcome in our country, and that part of the blame is borne by your husband Slobodan Milosevic?

[Markovic] That view of mine, as far as Yugoslavia is concerned, means that there is no Yugoslavia without Croatia as a large republic and Croats as a large nationality, just as there is none without Serbia and the Serbs. As far as the crisis is concerned, I think that it is not the result of a policy conducted 15 or 20 years ago, but of a policy conducted in the last three or four years. Back 20 years ago, there was neither war nor immense economic and social differences, nor an army of unemployed, nor a still larger army of the poor, nor enrichment from the work of other people, nor crimes in the cities approaching that of Chicago, nor were schooling and medical treatment expensive. All of that happened only two or three years ago. The explanation that these are the consequences of a policy conducted earlier, much earlier, is not only inaccurate, it has been amortized long ago. When I say inaccurate, then my thought is that that incubation does not take that long: The consequences of a bad policy would not wait two decades to manifest themselves, they would be manifested more rapidly, if not immediately. And when I say amortized—then my thought is that we have already used up that line of argument—those who came before us are to blame—the Turks. Until the day before yesterday, we used the Turks to cover everything that was ugly, unsuccessful, everything we did not like in our society. Now, instead of the Turks we are using the Communists. I can just imagine who the next scapegoats will be, when this "wave" of democracy passes.

[Miceta] Your words "this war (is) unclear in the political sense, unnecessary in a social sense, trash in a military sense, immoral in an ethical sense, and that makes it more tragic than others...," have evoked many reactions. Many people largely agreed with that position of yours, but at the same time they wondered whether your husband is aware of this and whether you have communicated it to him as one of the most influential people in Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] I did communicate it to him.

[Miceta] How did he react?

[Markovic] You have your answer.

[Miceta] What would your analysis be of the main political events and the principal figures that have been shaping the most important political options in Serbia? Surely your answer will not be so brief.

[Markovic] The answer will not be brief, but it will be a bit more difficult for me to respond to you. All socialist societies to date have been in need of change. That is beyond dispute. However, they were not in need just of any changes, but of those that would make it possible for people to live at a higher economic, political, and cultural level. The changes they have experienced have not had that result. They have not been constructive. On the contrary. The changes that have occurred have on the whole cast those societies backward. Today, all the former socialist countries are competing with one another in their conservatism.

[Miceta] Do you think that applies to Yugoslavia as well?

[Markovic] As for Yugoslavia, even it, unfortunately, is sharing the destiny of that conservative outcome which those countries have experienced. We in Yugoslavia are now establishing a society which we have already had, the restoration of the prewar society is taking place: private ownership with its tendency to dominate, small-scale commodity production and service activities with a tendency to be the dominant economic activities, investment of foreign capital without previously established

objectives and limits, especially those which affect national interests, a multitude of parties who differ little in their program, and are very similar in the struggle for power as the sole political objective.

The number of poor workers is multiplying, especially in the large cities. At the same time, a stratum of rich people is being formed; they are largely becoming so by smuggling. The middle stratum, which up to now consisted of blue-collar and white-collar workers employed in the better enterprises, social services, and administration, is melting into an amorphous mass of petty burghers, petit bourgeois, on whom nationalism relies. They have small requirements from the material standpoint and especially the spiritual standpoint; they are afraid of change, in the very structure of their identity they are the greatest obstacle to change, especially radical change.

We have already had all of that before—the rich and the poor, the National Assembly and ministers, the district chiefs, balls and the Easter vacation, the Slava, and the upper crust.... That prewar society might have been good or not, but it was authentic, it belonged to that time, at least in the broadest sense of the word. The attempt at restoration of that society in a time which is completely different, when advanced bourgeois society has undergone radical changes so as to alter its previous features, including those which were basic, this is like an imitation of bourgeois society, a trashy imitation. And trashy art is not as a rule a constructive thing, it does not represent value; on the contrary, it degrades value, it neglects the essence of value, it displays something which is subordinate to the essence.

I could demonstrate this with the way in which the multiparty system is manifested in our country. Political parties arose in bourgeois society through the multitude of political opinions as a response to the frustrations to which the individual and freedom were subjected in the Middle Ages. The possibility of individualization and freedom in bourgeois society resulted from the multitude of political ideas and the great number of political parties. It is evident that the repetition of the multiparty system under our conditions today is a trashy imitation in the fact that we do not have a great number of political ideas at all, but only a great number of political parties. I do not mean to say that in the future we will not have a great number of political ideas. However, I doubt that these parties will reach the level of political existence in which the principal manifestation will be differences in political thought.

What is more, that imitation of the previous Yugoslav bourgeois society goes hand in hand with the imitation of present-day bourgeois societies in the West. The combination of those two imitations seems grotesque. Monarchy and democracy are being combined, the votive candle and the Walkman, Serbia, Arise, and Madonna, Saint Sava and Arnold Schwarznegger.

[Miceta] So, we are living in a system that is a vulgarization?

[Markovic] I would not generalize and I would not oversimplify. Vulgarization occurs at a time when all values have been disputed, when answers are being sought to open questions, and when in the absence of the right answers, wrong ones are being given. Bad art is the lowest form of response. It occurs under conditions when the ability is lacking to find the new and right answers, when the old ones are being reused. What has occurred already has been tested and generally accepted at some point. A lazy, slow, and uncreative spirit prefers to commit itself to what has been tested in the past rather than to search for the new, which bears the risk of being criticized, rejected, or at the least accepted with reserve. That is why vulgarization is itself often a dangerous commitment.

[Miceta] Are you speaking about society as a whole? About Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] Yes, I am thinking of the Yugoslav society which needed changes, but changes that would look in the direction of the highest technological, economic, political, and cultural attainments of our civilization, which would be radical and progressive especially from the technological and cultural standpoint. It was difficult to produce such changes—they require cognitive, material, and practical efforts which are great, and the results of those efforts become evident in succession, some of them immediately, some of them later. But the commitment to going backward to the old, to what has already been seen, is actually only a fictitious commitment to change; these are false changes which merely give people the impression that their generic desire for change has been fulfilled. The road we did not travel is the more difficult one, but also the more beautiful one, and the only one that can be taken in the direction of progress.

At the same time, I must also say something about an injustice which our country has experienced. In a time when all the socialist countries needed change, Yugoslavia was unfairly classified in the world to which it actually never belonged. It is true that all the socialist countries had been stagnant for a long time. That stagnation in all the spheres of the life of society was in fact the reason why they collapsed. At the same time, Yugoslavia had a very dynamic social development, and that dynamism of ours was criticized by the socialist countries as revisionism, as a negative feature, while the advanced bourgeois societies recognized our dynamism as a constructive trait. I do not see why at a moment when the world of East Europe was crumbling Yugoslavia should share the destiny of that world, although in fact it never belonged to that world. On the contrary, it itself criticized that world a great deal. The injustice is manifested in the fact that others not only compelled us to share the destiny of those with whom we had not been together, but we ourselves also accepted sharing that destiny with them. No one, absolutely no one, raised his voice and said: We were a quite different world, and if we need to experience change, we do not need to share it with those to whom we never belonged.

[Miceta] How do you see the principal protagonists of such changes in Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] Most of the protagonists of those changes which are retrograde are people who learned, worked, and themselves frequently took part in the creation and affirmation of the social system which they are now criticizing, and are even historically refuting, not only as practice, but also as an idea. I want to say that the degree of adaptivity to a completely different system of values is so immense and drastic that it seems to me unnatural and abnormal.

[Miceta] Two years ago, you said in speaking about the former Serbian politicians: "History will not forgive with a single word that they betrayed their people.... There is the living on Dedinje, the summering on Brioni, the guaranteed vertical and horizontal movement through the corridors of power...." Aside from the fact that the present Serbian politicians cannot summer on Brioni, do you think that anything has changed?

[Markovic] I think a very great deal has changed. The present leaders have no particular benefits, or at least they have none that would distinguish them from a majority of the citizens.

[Miceta] How much do the privileges which you have bother you?

[Markovic] What you mean by privileges are perceived as sacrifice by my family and me.

[Miceta] The public thinks differently about that.

[Markovic] That is the public's affair. If the public is interested in my opinion, that is it. The public can believe me or not.

[Miceta] You said: "Today, there are few brave, educated, and honest people who dare to say what they think in public." Now that we are speaking about such people, what is your opinion of the views of Bogdan Bogdanovic, Mirko Kovac, Vidosav Stevanovic, Ivan Djuric, Nebojsa Popov, Vesna Pesic, Rajko Djuric...and certain others whose courage and education cannot be denied, some of which have had to emigrate out of fear of the incumbent regime in Serbia?

[Markovic] I do not believe in the existence of political emigres. If there were political emigres on the basis of the policy of the present regime, then there would be no opposition deputies at all in the Assembly, because the criticism could not be more severe of what you refer to as the regime in Serbia.

[Miceta] You seem to be angry.

[Markovic] No, I am not angry. Most of those people whom you mention and whose education I do not deny, and some of them I admit to be brave, are here in Belgrade. If anyone has left, I do not think he left as a political emigre.

[Miceta] That is, you think there are no pressures?

[Markovic] Allow me to answer your question. I think that they are using political pressure as a cover for the real reasons why they have left the country. For example, financial reasons, professional reasons, and so on.

[Miceta] That is your answer?

[Markovic] That is my answer.

[Miceta] Interesting answer.

[Markovic] It is not interesting, but accurate. You would have a hard time finding a better.

[Miceta] Why did you commit yourself to the ultra-left-wing party "of the generals," rather than to a democratic party closer to the center? I see that this question has brought a smile to your face!

[Markovic] As far as commitment goes, I committed myself at the age of 16 when I joined the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. Nothing in theory or history of what has happened in the present world has called that commitment of mine into question. Accordingly, I have not had cognitive reasons to change my commitments. For moral reasons, I did not want to renounce them when they fell upon difficult times. The future of humanity will certainly be based on left-wing ideas. All the changes in the technological, economic, political, and cultural development of the contemporary world demonstrate that in the future it will nevertheless be rich not only in material and cultural terms, but also that the population and people in it will be equal, that every man will be able to live freely. Now the left is on the defensive, and the right is in full offensive. But that is temporary. The wind from the west will not always be the only one blowing.

In any case, the party of which I am a member is not ultra-left wing at all, and I do not see why you think it is not democratic. Do you associate democratic only with the goals for which a party aims or with the manner in which it is organized?

[Miceta] "There is no brain beneath the helmet," say representatives of a young generation in a project which recently sprang up in Belgrade with the name "Rim tuti tuki." That is, of course, a youthful simplification, but a party which consists mostly of commissioned officers, that is, a party to which militarism is not alien, has never brought any society happiness, prosperity, and democracy.

[Markovic] We could continue the conversation in the direction you have started if the premise you started from was accurate. However, your initial premise is not accurate.

[Miceta] And what is not accurate about it?

[Markovic] It is not accurate that that is a military party, that it is noncivilian, and then your offensive vulgarization of the soldier as a symbol is unacceptable.

[Miceta] I am very suspicious of that kind of party, because they are not inclined to understand a society in which the individual emerges as a free person.

[Markovic] I have already said that if that were accurate, if your assumption that this is a military party were accurate, then we might discuss whether and when the military degrades the democratic. But because the party of which I am now a member is not a military party, then there is no point in our talking further in that direction....

[Miceta] You mean to say that military men are not the dominant factor in the SK—Movement for Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] No, they are not.

[Miceta] Military men, it is true, have already begun to stand aloof from that party. I might just mention Major General Vuk Obradovic, who is not exactly an insignificant person in the former JNA [Yugoslav People's Army].

[Markovic] His statement that the party organization of JNA collectively joined the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia is not accurate. People joined that party individually.

[Miceta] But in fairly organized fashion?

[Markovic] People join every party in organized fashion. In any case, the major general of whom you speak joined the SK-PJ as an individual, and I must tell you that he showed much more enthusiasm for that party than I have had and that many others have had.

[Miceta] Is there a document indicating that he joined your party?

[Markovic] Of course, there is his application form.

And now let me answer the second part of your question about the center. When it comes to political commitments and political parties, the center has always repelled me. Spiritual languor dominates it, it has no dynamism, it is politically confused, it is usually a bastion of conservatism and a sphere in which the petty bourgeois are born and proliferate. In the darkness of the center, only those changes are permitted which no one will notice or, to be more precise, which will not disturb anyone. But there are no such changes. Or such changes are of no use to society.

[Miceta] Now that we are already discussing the army, how did you perceive the tanks going into the streets of Belgrade? What was your reaction to those horrible machines when they rumbled in the city where you live?

[Markovic] First, I do not believe that tanks are "horrible machines." I am surprised that a man should have perceived them that way.

[Miceta] I certainly did!

[Markovic] But surely you served in the army?

[Miceta] I did, but I was in the communications units.

[Markovic] In all units, people become familiar with all weapons, and one of the reasons is so that they do not perceive them as "horrible."

[Miceta] To what extent is the tandem of the SPS and the so-called JNA trying to take territory at the price of terrible destruction in order to reestablish a regime of socialist origin by means of armed force over the broadest possible territory of the former Yugoslavia?

[Markovic] The SPS is not reestablishing a socialist system even on its own territory, so I do not believe it could have such intentions toward other territories.

[Miceta] How do you interpret the mobilization in Serbia, although it is not at war, when at the same time the aims of the war are not known to the fighting men if we discount the debatable explanation about protecting the Serbian people?

[Markovic] Bosnia and Hercegovina [B-H] has separated from Yugoslavia and received international recognition of that separation. Accordingly, no mobilization on the territory of another republic with which Bosnia and Hercegovina does not agree to meet the needs of the war that is being waged there is acceptable. I do not know whether there has been such mobilization in Serbia. I believe there has not been.

[Miceta] In one segment of the public, the prevailing opinion of you is that you are a severe, intolerant, and exclusive, in short—a dangerous woman.... However, when one gets to know you personally, you give the impression of a fragile and feminine dreamer.... Nevertheless, you are involved in a politics which is the antipode of everything I mentioned, especially, as in your case, ultra-left ideas are being espoused.

[Markovic] It is possible that a segment of the public with which you are in contact thinks that way. However, be certain that there is also another segment of the public with which you are not in contact, at least not close contact, which has a different opinion. That contradictoriness between my political views and my appearance, which you have identified, is a part of the prejudices that women that are present and successful in spheres reserved for men—science and politics—must be similar to men, must be masculine in their appearance and behavior, that is, unfeminine. However, I am at the very center of spheres reserved for men, but I am very unsimilar to them.

What is more, my appearance or the impression you have of me is not contrary to my commitments. They are not ultra-left wing, but they are left wing, very left wing. And the left-wing side of the world is more humane, fairer, the more beautiful side of the world. On that side, people dream and hope, people love other people; slowly

and with difficulty a world is being born in which every man will be able to live happily.... I sometimes wonder how anyone who is educated and intelligent could fail to be on the left.

[Miceta] How would you define your political commitment and also the political commitment of your husband, and to what extent do they differ in your opinion?

[Markovic] I am a Yugoslav and a Serb. My parents are Serbs from Serbia, not Serbs from Hercegovina, Croatia....

[Miceta] They are not, then, from the Dinarid Mountains? That is what you mean?

[Markovic] That is what I mean. The Serbs outside Serbia have an inclination to emphasize their nationality more than the Serbs from Serbia. If I might put it this way, I perceive my nationality in a sense that is broader than the space of Yugoslavia. If I could say that of myself, I would say that I am a citizen of Europe.

[Miceta] That is in keeping with communist commitments. Internationalism!

[Markovic] One day the world will be internationalized. But you interrupted me. As far as political commitment is concerned, I am committed to socialism. A new socialism at a higher level. Different from the socialism up to now and different from the capitalism at present. Everything constructive that comes out of socialization of bourgeois society and all the achievements, ideas, and practice of socialism that contribute to economic, political, and cultural progress suggest the arrival of a new, richer, fairer, and more universal world.

[Miceta] Your husband recently declared that many personnel decisions are not his own, and that some of them are even contrary to his criteria. One segment of the public believes that you yourself have great influence on personnel policy and that your personnel are easy to recognize by their rigid procommunist views.

[Markovic] It is certain that many personnel decisions are not his own, and that is normal in a society in which the decisions are not all made by one man....

[Miceta] You think so?

[Markovic] Of course. In that sense, it is possible that some of the personnel decisions are not only not his own, but contrary to his criteria. As far as I am concerned, I did influence many, as you say, personnel decisions when I was in a position to do so personally and directly. That means when I was the member of some political forum. For several years, I was in the political leadership of Belgrade University, later for a shorter time a member of the presidium of the city committee, and recently on the presidium of the city committee. I supported certain personnel decisions very vigorously and very successfully.

[Miceta] I do not doubt that in the least.

[Markovic] I did not think that those people whom I supported had procommunist commitments, but that they had communist commitments.

[Miceta] That is still worse!

[Markovic] Why? Is it not logical that they should have communist commitments when they are members of the political organization of Communists? In July of 1990, I did not join the SPS and I have not been in any political forum, and I have not been in a position to directly influence either events or those who are involved in them. I must tell you that, although you look at me mistrustfully.

[Miceta] It is not just mistrust; it is amazement.

[Markovic] I did not want to exert indirect influence. That kind of influence through someone else, especially through my husband, would degrade me.

[Miceta] You can probably imagine that I cannot see that as a convincing answer.

[Markovic] I do not suppose it is. But if you nevertheless have prejudices, they are not unfounded. Just like you, I know that there are women who attempt from the shadow of their anonymity, from their insignificance, to influence political and social events by using their husband as an instrument. Be certain of it; I absolutely am not one of them.

[Miceta] It is completely irrelevant whether you convince me. The essential thing is to convince the public.

[Markovic] I have no need to convince the public. I am just answering your question.

[Miceta] I think they will not believe you.

[Markovic] Perhaps they will. That segment of the public that knows me will know that I am speaking the truth. You, of course, are not part of that segment.

[Miceta] Of course. You said that power changes people. Is that only when they become dependent upon it?

[Markovic] When a fighter becomes a victor, he ceases to be a fighter and becomes the custodian of his victory. Of course, everything cannot be "unceasing struggle"; peaceful and static periods are also necessary, but if the victor decides the length of the peaceful period, then it could be dangerously drawn out at the expense of progressive changes.

[Miceta] Has power changed your husband?

[Markovic] Of course, he has also changed. However, I think that for me to identify those changes is not part of our interview.

[Miceta] Is your husband at the same time your favorite politician? You might answer just yes or no.

[Markovic] I cannot. I will answer exactly what I think. I am not inclined to perceive politics in terms of individuals, but in terms of ideas. I have never expressed my political convictions by supporting or criticizing some particular individual. That personalized corner of politics is quite foreign to me. I did not perceive politics that way even when I was shaping my political and other views, even when that would have been normal, given the age at which I formed those views.

Kosovo

Elections for Parliament, President Held 24 May

Serbian Police Intervention Reported

AU2405190492 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 24 May 92

[Text] Reports from the field state that the police are continuing to raise obstacles and (?trying to confiscate) ballot papers in some polling stations in Kosovo. [words indistinct]

In Prekaz i Eperm [Gornje Prekaze], the Serbian police beat up six people and arrested five others. [words indistinct]

In the village of Drenoc near Rahovec [Orahovac], the Serbian police entered the polling station, confiscated some of the ballot papers, eight national flags, and a picture of Skenderbeg. Despite major obstacles, 80 percent of the electorate in this commune had voted by 1200.

At 0930, Serbian police entered the Asim Vokshi School in the Kodra e Trimave [Vranjevac] quarter of Pristina and demanded the immediate suspension of the elections. The election materials were not confiscated. The police also intervened in the Zenel Sejdini School. Large police patrols have been watching the progress of the voting.

The police also intervened at the polling station in the village of (?Llukanove), surrounding the school and demanding the suspension of the voting. Voting in this village had been 50 percent completed when it was interrupted.

In a polling station in Gllogovc [Glogovac], the police arrested [name indistinct], a member of the Netherlands delegation, at 1100. The police told him not to move and to stay near them. The police stayed in the polling station until 1330, and said that they would return if the voting did not stop.

Vote Total at 900,000

AU2505174592 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 25 (ATA)—As reported from Pristina, the first multiparty parliamentary and presidential elections were held on May 24.

More than 900,000 voters voted in 29 election constituencies throughout Kosovo. They voted for the best among 511 possible candidates for the pluralistic parliament of the Republic of Kosovo and for the sole nominated candidate running for the first president of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova. The Albanians and other Kosovars voted for the establishment of the democratic power elected from the people instead of Serbia's power of violence and occupation. The citizens of Kosovo voted under the supervision of 80 observers from many countries of the world and of more than 200 journalists from the world.

Despite the incidents towards the voters caused by the Serbian militia, the detainments and hindrances by the Serbian power, the first multiparty elections in Kosovo were an all-[word indistinct] civilizing contemporary manifestation.

"Kosovo's independence and democracy will be to the benefit of the majority, the Albanians and to all the peoples living in Kosovo," the single candidate running for president of the state of Kosovo, chairman of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said to the numerous journalists who were present at his Polling Station No. 66 of the Constituency No. 9 of the capital of the Republic of Kosovo.

The press conference of the Republican Commission of Kosovo for the elections pointed out that 80 percent of the electors in all localities of the Republic of Kosovo had voted till midday. After the Albanians, who constitute the absolute majority in Kosovo, Moslems, Turks, Croatians, and Gipsies voted en masse.

Election Considered Successful

LD2505151592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 May 92

[Report from Pristina by correspondent Behdzet Baraliu]

[Text] The first multiparty elections in Kosovo, held yesterday, represent an historic act for the future of Kosovo. The Main Electoral Commission held a press conference today: Hear what Chairman of the Electoral Commission Sadija Rodici said:

[Begin Rodici recording] We have assessed the organization of elections as successful, the turnout was big and the elections passed without incident. The turnout was around 90 percent of the overall number of voters. Because of difficulties in the field, we have not yet received reliable reports from some electoral units. According to reports so far, the party in the lead is the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, and the percentage of votes won by the republican president is around 95. [end recording]

[Baraliu] The journalists were also told that foreign observers from Europe and the United States have positively assessed the elections.

Asked why Serbia did not use stronger repression during the Kosovo elections, the president of the Main Electoral Commission said it was because of mounting international pressure on Serbia.

The expulsion of the Croatian delegation which had come here to oversee the elections was assessed as yet another ill-considered move of the Serbian regime.

Rugova Elected President

AU2505205792 Zagreb Radio Croatia in Albanian 2035 GMT 25 May 92

[Statement by Destan Rukiqi, secretary of the Kosovo Republican Electoral Commission on 25 May; place not given—recorded]

[Text] On the basis of data from the field, the Republican Electoral Commission states 83 deputies have been elected to the Kosovo parliament up to the time of this statement. Of them, 80 deputies belong to the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [LDK], one belongs to the Kosovo Parliamentary Party, and one is an independent candidate. The Muslims' Party of Democratic Action has won one seat with a joint LDK candidate. I would like to add that the ranks of the LDK deputies elected so far include two Turks.

As we also said yesterday, there was a massive election turnout. Data from the field show that the average turnout was more than 85 percent of voters registered on the electoral rolls.

I have the honor to state that, on the basis of the results that we have received, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova has been elected president of the Republic of Kosovo. We have obtained the results for the presidential election from 21 out of 29 constituencies. About 99 percent of electors voted for Dr. Ibrahim Rugova. The results that I reported above, although provisional, are accurate. Data are continually reaching the Electoral Commission from the field, despite the familiar difficulties created by the situation. The results from the remaining eight constituencies will be announced as soon as they are available. The commission considers that the electoral procedure was observed punctiliously, and there were no significant violations of regulations to cast doubt on the conduct or results of the elections.

Rugova: 'Independent, Neutral State'

LD2605132292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1022 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Pristina, 26 May (TANJUG)—Ibrahim Rugova, chairman of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK], said today in an interview to the Pristina Albanian-language newspaper BUJKU that Albanians in that province will gradually "try to form a parliament, government, and other bodies of authority" and to do that, as he specified, "through dialogue."

According to Rugova's statement to the newspaper BUJKU, given after the "the preliminary results" of the illegal elections held on Sunday 24 May, Kosovo will "become an independent and neutral state of free and equal nations and citizens, and open borders in the framework of the Balkans and European integration."

Rugova, who, according to "the initial results" was allegedly elected president of the so-called "Republic of Kosovo" as the only presidential candidate in the elections, says in BUJKU that he is "convinced that the international public will support the newly elected government of Kosovo and its plans." According to the statement, he bases his claims on "contacts with influential factors in the world and the observers who monitored the elections."

Observers Say Elections Fair

AU2605095892 Tirana ATA in English 0822 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Tirana, May 26 (ATA)—A statement issued by the Information Center of the Democratic League of Kosovo on May 25 says among others:

Foreign observers held a press conference at the seat of the Writers' League of Kosovo on May 24 evening to air their views regarding May 24 elections. The Secretary General of the UN Non Member Countries Organization Dr. Michel Wanvajt stressed among others that the elections were completely fair, the attendance was rather great.

The same impression on the elections in Kosovo were also those of the delegation of the Human Rights Foundation of the U.S. Congress. They underlined that the great attendance and the desire of the Albanians to express their political will was magnificent. They pointed out in particular that the conduct of these elections was perfect taking into consideration the circumstances under which they were held.

In the meantime the representative of the Council of Helsinki said that he was rather pleased over the fact that the elections in Kosovo were fair and democratic. He stressed that Serbia did not interfere to hinder elections because of the great international pressure.

'Large-Scale' Settlement of Serbs Planned

LD2605135192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 26 May 92

[Text] Pristina, 26 May (TANJUG)—A large-scale action to settle Serbs in Kosovo and Metohija will begin on 5 June, Drago Icic, chairman of a resettlement assocation set up recently, said at a press conference today.

Speaking about the action, Icic said that in the first stage between 3,000 and 7,000 members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality, mostly from Leskovac, Nis, and Lebane are expected to move to Kosovo. The

majority of them are young, single people but some are with families. According to Icic, jobs and temporary accomodation have been secured for all of them.

Montenegro

Serb Radical Leader Unhurt in Bomb Attack

LD2505195392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1853 GMT 25 May 92

[Excerpts] Podgorica, 25 May (TANJUG)—None of the 40 persons wounded in a bomb explosion in Podgorica this evening are in critical condition. [passage omitted]

In a statement for Montenegro television, Dragan Ivanovic, commander of the center for public security, said that following the rally of the Serbian Radical Party, someone yet unknown threw a hand grenade at the escorts and people surrounding party leader Vojisla Seselj. Seselj, who was taking a walk through the city, was not hurt. Other details of this terrorist act, obviously with a political background, are still not known.

Bulatovic Comments on Attack

LD2505225192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2226 GMT 25 May 92

[Text] Podgorica, 25 May (TANJUG)—In tonight's television party political broadcast made by the Democratic Party of Socialists [Demokratska Partija Socijalista], Montenegrin Presidency President Momir Bulatovic commented on the most topical event in Podgorica, the attempted assassination of Vojislav Seselj after a rally which the Serbian Radical Party held in front of the Montenegrin Assembly.

Expressing his deep regret at this act of terrorism, which only mindless people are ready to undertake, Bulatovic noted the danger from speculations which multiplied after the incident. He categorically denied widespread rumors that Seselj threatened a horrific revenge against the perpetrators, and confirmed that the Serbian Radical Party leader, when in touch with him, paid tribute to the Montenegrin Ministry for Internal Affairs and added he is leaving Podgorica with full trust that the competent bodies will carry out an investigation and punish the perpetrators of this act of terrorism.

[The same source reported at 2230 GMT on 25 May that a person who threw a grenade among Seselj's followers and bodyguards has been detained by police in Podgorica. It added that "the name of the detained attacker has not been disclosed, in order to facilitate the investigation."]